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ABSTRACT

A collection of three papers written at a workshop on discourse grammar in Philippine languages is presented. The aims of the workshop were to (1) focus on discourse level grammar in the languages studied; (2) identify contrastive discourse types (genre) in the surface grammar; (3) identify the semantic constructions encoded by the different genres; and (4) identify any other grammatical and semantic units above the syntactic level. A primary question addressed was: Given the assumption that there is a grammatical hierarchy consisting of such units as morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse, is there a corresponding hierarchy of semantic constructions? An introductory chapter outlines the elements of discourse structure as they are used to study Philippine languages. The papers include: "Semantic and Thematic Structure of Discourse in Balangao" (Joanne Shetler and Michael Walrod); "Some Features of Hortatory Discourse in Central Cagayan Agta" (Roy Mayfield); and "The Semantic Structure of Tagbanwa Discourse" (Peter Green). (MSE)

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

Edited by
Fe T. Otanes
Austin Hale

Managing Editor
Helen Miller

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Studies in Philippine Linguistics is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. There will be two regular numbers a year supplemented by occasional special numbers as the volume of suitable papers submitted may warrant. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Deadlines for receipt of manuscripts for the first number of each year will be the first Friday in April and the deadline for receipt of manuscripts for the second number will be the first Friday in October. Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

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INTRODUCTION TO DISCOURSE IN NORTHERN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Michael R. Walrod
Summer Institute of Linguistics

The papers contained in this volume are the result of a workshop on discourse grammar conducted at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, Philippines) in August and September of 1978. Research was done in 12 different languages, most of them on the Island of Luzon, by members of S.I.L. who have resided in the actual language areas. (Other papers written at the workshop were published in Studies in Philippine Linguistics 3.1, 1979.)

In some of the languages represented in this volume, and in many related Philippine languages, there has already been extensive analysis and writing about the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structures. However, very little has been done in the area of discourse grammar. Longacre's work on Philippine languages (1968) was one of the first attempts to formulate a theory of discourse level grammar, and describe that level in several languages. Since 1968 new developments in this area of linguistic studies have been been appearing with increasing frequency. The studies which are written up here have incorporated many ideas from the most recent developments in the area of discourse studies. Some of the especially insightful works which were found very helpful by the authors of this volume were Linda Jones (1977), Grimes (1975 and 1978), Longacre (1976), Beekman and Callow (1974), Bruce Hollenbach (1975), and Ilah Fleming (1977).

Our aims in the Bagabag workshop of 1978 were: 1. to focus on discourse level grammar in the languages being studied; 2. to identify contrastive discourse types (genre) in the surface grammar; 3. to identify the semantic constructions encoded by the different genre; and 4. to identify any other grammatical and semantic units above the syntactic level (e.g. paragraph).

One of the primary questions that we hoped to answer through the research represented in this volume was this; given the assumption that there is a grammatical hierarchy consisting of such units as morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse, is there a corresponding hierarchy of semantic constructions? We started with the assumption that there is such a hierarchy, and therefore expanded our question to ask what the levels of semantic constructions were in that hierarchy, and how they related to each other and to surface grammar. As in the work of Fleming (1977) and Beekman and Callow (1974), we recognize a minimal semantic unit (sememe or concept) which could function as the constituents of the next higher level of semantic constructions, namely that of proposition. Propositions in turn are the constituents of semantic interpropositional constructions. A good deal of writing had already been done on these three levels of semantic constructions. However, there seemed to be no consensus on, or clear definition of any higher levels in the semantic hierarchy. Various terms that have been suggested from time to time were paragraph, episode, macro-structure, discourse, and conversation. Another notion relevant to discourse studies and seemingly also relevant to the semantic strata of language was that of backbone or theme line.

In my study of discourse in Ga'dang, preceding the Bagabag discourse workshop at which these papers were written, I found that in Ga'dang expository discourse there was a frequently recurring semantic unit, similar to an interpropositional construction. The difference was that whereas the works such as Beekman and Callow (1974) treat interpropositional constructions as semantic units relating just two propositions, the unit which recurred in Ga'dang expository discourse typically involved three propositions. The realization of this larger semantic unit in Ga'dang expository discourse consisted of a complex sentence with an initial conditional clause, followed by a clause expressing a result of or response to a condition, followed by a clause expressing a reason or explanation. I referred to this unit as a condition-result-reason structure (Walrod 1979:57). I assumed that it was just an interpropositional relationship more complex than the usual two-part interpropositional constructions. However, in analyzing text of various discourse types in the languages described in this volume, it was found that this type of semantic construction relating more than two propositions occurs with great regularity, so much so that it warrants an additional level in the hierarchy of semantic constructions.

In this volume, particularly in Section 6 of Shetler and Walrod, we have tried to identify the upper levels of the semantic hierarchy and to define the relationships they have to each other and to the idea of the backbone of a discourse. Pike's concept of language as a wave (i.e. briefly, that linguistic units can be viewed as having an onset, a nucleus, and a coda) proved useful in analyzing the higher levels of the semantic hierarchy. We posited two levels of structure in the semantic hierarchy above the level of interpropositional constructions. These we originally referred to as 'script' (following Jones 1977) and 'macro-structure'. As writing and editing progressed, however, we came to realize that our use of 'script' differed substantially from that of Shank and Abelson, 1977, and that our use of macro-structure differed from that of van Dijk, 1977, and since these represent the more standard usages for these terms we decided to relabel our concepts as 'schema' and 'discourse-structure' respectively.

Even this choice of terms, however, is not without its problems. In particular the term 'schema' is also used in cognitive psychology, and in that field it has received the following definition:

1. The central cognitive structure in perception;

2. that portion of the entire perceptual cycle which is internal to

In this volume the use of 'schema' is being expanded further to apply to all four discourse genre. It is used as a semantic term to refer to the level just above that of interpropositional relations. It may be that an additional level of semantic structure, such as episode, may be needed between schema and discourse-structure in some languages. However, we did not find it necessary to posit such a level in the analysis written here.

The semantic construction which we have called discourse-structure is the semantic structure of the discourse as a whole. Figure 1 illustrates the discourse-structure, and its relationship to semantic schemata which are the usual constructions which go together to make up the nuclear constituent of the discourse-structure.

The initial constituent of the discourse-structure, as illustrated in Figure 1, is the topic or global theme. The selection of a global theme depends primarily on the illocutionary speech act or intention of the communicator, and the development of that topic or global theme is likely to result in a backbone or theme line through the discourse. Figure 2 is an attempt to specify the relationships between speech act, global theme, discourse-structure, schema, and backbone or theme line.

A good starting point in considering discourse is the illocutionary speech act, i.e. the intention or motive of the speaker in saying what he does; what is he trying to accomplish by it? The first column in Figure 2 lists the basic intentions which most often underlie the respective discourse genre (e.g. a hortatory discourse is usually prompted by the intention of the speaker to get his listeners to behave in a certain way). In many cases there will be a mixture of intentions, but even when motives are mixed, the intentions listed in the first column of Figure 2 will probably make up a part, and usually the major part, of the illocutionary speech act of the corresponding discourse genre.

Once a person formulates in his mind a particular intention or aim which he hopes to achieve by saying something, he can then begin to formulate a discourse (anything from a word to a long monologue), selecting the discourse type or genre which he thinks is best suited to accomplish his aim.

The choice of a global theme for a discourse must be nearly simultaneous with a person's decision to perform an illocutionary act. The term 'global theme' has been used by Kilham (197[illegible]) and by Kroeker (in Grimes 1975: 363) to refer to the main idea, what the discourse is all about. The main kinds of global themes, as illustrated in Figure 2, are complication-situations, goals to be accomplished, topics for advice or exhortation, and topics for exposition (description or argumentation).

	Illocutionary speech act	Global theme (disc. topic)	Discourse-structure	Schemata (typical)	Backbone (theme-line)
Narrative	amuse, inform	complication-situation	complication-situation, narration, resolution	orientation, event, evaluation	(main) event (propositions)
Procedural	inform, instruct	goal	goal, procedure, accomplishment	condition, step, evaluation	steps
Hortatory (behavioral)	effect change, persuade to change or behave in a certain way	advice topic	advice topic, exhortation, culmination	projected circumstance, command, support by argument	commands
Expository	explain, prove, persuade	topic	topic, exposition, conclusion	thesis, points, summation	theses and all supporting points

Figure 2. Thematic and semantic organization of discourse

Complication-situations tend to be more complex or elaborate than the others, because they include the introduction of the major participants of a narrative, usually some orientation as to time and place of the story, and the particular fact or happening (inciting moment) which makes the story worth telling.

Once a person has decided to speak and knows what he wants to say, he selects the appropriate genre. The combination of speaker's intention plus discourse topic narrows the possibilities of discourse genre which may be used probably to just one genre, although the social setting may force some intentional skewing (e.g. using a narrative to teach or exhort).

Each genre has its own characteristic semantic structure or discourse-structure, which is the semantic structure realized by a whole monologue discourse, just as a proposition is the semantic construction normally realized by a single clause. A very abstract formula for all monologue discourse is:

Discourse = Topic + Development + Conclusion

But each discourse genre has its own characteristic semantic constituents, as is illustrated in the third column of Figure 2.

The initial constituent of each discourse-structure is the global theme of the discourse. This is followed by the development of the global theme, a different kind of development depending on the discourse genre. This nuclear constituent of each discourse-structure consists of constructions of the next lower level of the semantic hierarchy, that of the semantic schema.

The final constituent of the discourse-structure is the conclusion. The whole discourse-structure is designed to accomplish the intended speech act. The initial topic statement is designed to get the attention of the hearers. The development is to maintain tension or interest. And the conclusion releases the audience.

Discourse-structure is related to schema in this way: the central constituent of the discourse-structure, the development, is comprised of one or more schema. The schemata will be those of the relevant genre, but there may be schemata embedded within schemata and these may be of the same or of a different genre.

In the languages studied, each discourse genre had a particular schema construction which was characteristic of the nuclear constituent of the discourse-structure. These characteristic schemata are given in the fourth column of Figure 2.

The fifth and final column on Figure 2 represents the backbone or theme line in the various genre. The backbone in any discourse genre is related to the discourse-structure and the schemata in this way: it is the central developmental thread which mediates between the topic and the conclusion of the discourse-structure, and it consists of the nuclear constituents of the schemata of that text.

To say that the nuclear constituents of the semantic schemata are what forms the backbone of the respective genre, is to say that the backbone consists of propositions, since the nuclear constituents of schemata are propositions. This is plausible, but it might also be reasonable to go one step further and take the nuclear constituents of those propositions, and call those the backbone of the discourse. If that were done, the backbone in most discourse types would be simply a list of verbs. This is not unreasonable, but it is probably more satisfying from a descriptive point of view to identify the backbone as a list of propositions.

Here is a brief summary of the relationships between structures displayed in Figure 2:

1. The *illocutionary speech act* leads to selection of a particular genre.

2. Each genre has its own kind of *global theme* or discourse topic. A theme of the appropriate sort will begin the discourse.

3. The global theme is the first constituent of the semantic *discourse-structure*, the semantic abstract of the whole discourse. The central constituent of the discourse-structure is the development, which consists of the semantic schemata of the particular genre.

4. The semantic *schemata* are the constructions just above the level of interpropositional constructions. The development of a discourse consists of schemata characteristic of the genre.

5. The *backbone* of a discourse is the central developmental thread, which develops the global theme. This central thread consists of the semantically nuclear constituents of the schemata of that genre.

The semantic constructions of discourse-structure and schema already defined, are related to the other levels of the semantic hierarchy in Figure 3. The name of each level and the constructions of that level are the same. Lines are drawn to the level or levels of the grammatical hierarchy which is/are the usual realization(s) of the semantic construction.

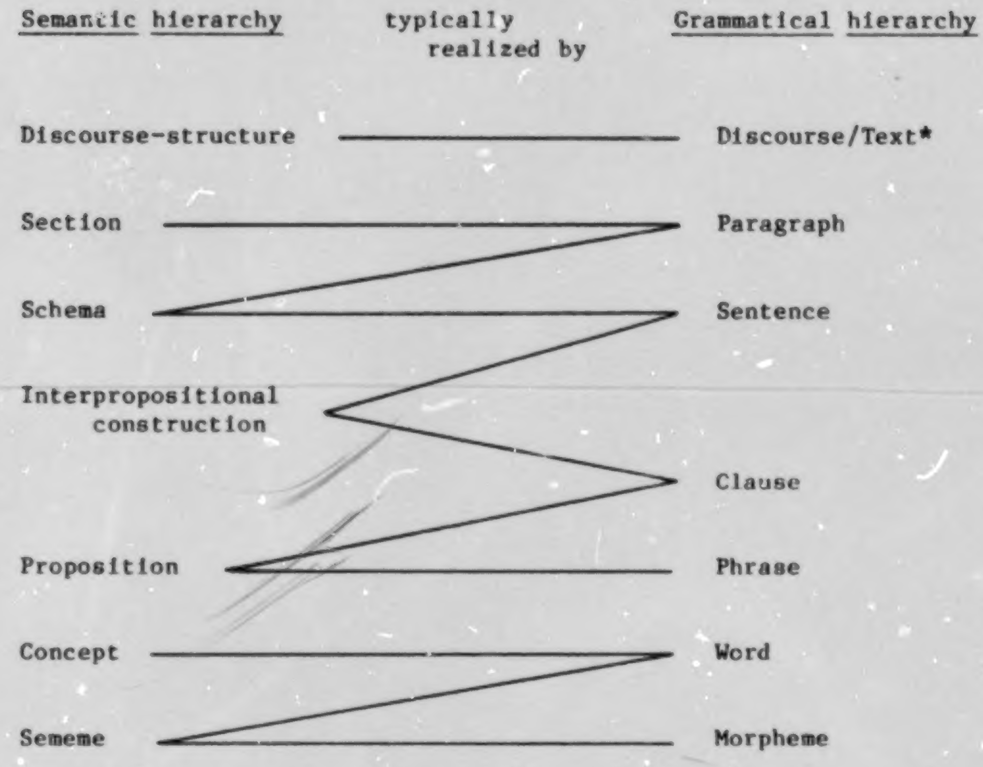

Figure 3. Levels of semantic and grammatical hierarchies

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SEMANTIC AND THEMATIC STRUCTURE IN BALANGAO

Joanne Shetler and Michael Walrod
Summer Institute of Linguistics

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1. Introduction

In the introduction to Volume II of *Discourse grammar*, Robert Longacre wrote, "...this report is meant to be a contribution to the growing literature of the discourse revolution." The same is true of this paper.

The authors have attempted to synthesize many recent contributions in the area of discourse analysis in linguistics and to apply the synthesized model to the analysis of four major discourse genre in Balangao.[1]

1.1 The genre principle

Longacre was one of the first linguists to do extensive research in the area of discourse level grammar. In his 1968 work, *Philippine languages: discourse, paragraph and sentence structure*, he posited four major genre for prose discourse. His schema of discourse genre has undergone some revision in more recent publications (e.g. 1976, *An anatomy of speech notions*). But even the most recent revisions are not far from the original. The particular version we are following is that suggested by Keith Forster (1977).

The four major discourse genre may be displayed on a matrix with two parameters, namely plus-minus chronological linkage and plus-minus agent orientation.

	+agent	-agent
+chronological linkage	orientation narrative	orientation procedural
-chronological linkage	behavioral (hortatory)	expository

Figure 1. Matrix of discourse genre

1.2 The four genre in Balangao

Each of the major discourse genre in Balangao is defined in Sections 2-5. There is discussion of the features which contrast each genre with the other genre, such as its unique semantic structure and the grammatical realizations of the semantic structure. Also briefly discussed and compared are the areas of cohesion, person orientation, participant reference, and tense. Since it is our purpose to examine and compare all four major discourse genre in Balangao, our treatment of each one is necessarily somewhat superficial. Nevertheless, significant results are obtained by comparing the four, which would not be readily apparent in a more detailed analysis of just one or two genre.

To facilitate comparison of the four genre, Sections 2-5 are divided into parallel subsections. All subpoints of the same number deal with the same area of discourse structure, e.g. Sections 2.4, 3.4, 4.4, and 5.4 are all on the subject of cohesion in the respective genre.

To further facilitate comparison, many of the features of each discourse genre are displayed on charts in Sections 6-8, the most important sections.

Section 6 elaborates on and shows the relationships between the semantic structures posited in Sections 2-5. Section 6 also discusses an interesting phenomenon of skewing between illocutionary act and discourse genre because of certain constraints from the social setting.

Section 7 summarizes and concludes.

2. Narrative genre (cf. Appendix, Text N)

Narrative genre is characterized by plus agent orientation and plus chronological linkage (see Figure 1). It is further characterized as having a backbone[2] which is made up of events. Still another characteristic of narrative is its way of introducing major participants. They are introduced either in an existential clause introduced by *wadə* 'there is' or by topicalization (in a preposed sentence topic construction), or they simply occur within the normal flow of the discourse. Each of the subtypes described below has its own norm for the introduction of major participants.

2.1 Subtypes of narrative genre

The narrative genre has three subtypes: folklore, historical, and current events. These three subtypes are distinguished basically by their different apertures, closures, and methods of introducing main participants. The terms 'aperture' and 'closure' are from Longacre 1976:214, but our use of the term 'aperture' is slightly broader than his. Longacre defines aperture as a formulaic phrase or sentence, which is a surface feature only, i.e. it encodes no part of the plot. However, in Balangao the formulaic sentence which begins certain kinds of discourse necessarily includes some of the stage-setting information and therefore does encode part of the semantic structure of the discourse.

Folklore narrative

In contrast with other subtypes of narrative genre, the aperture in folklore is always a verbal sentence. It begins with a preposed sentence topic, which identifies by name the major participants of the narrative.

The remainder of this initial sentence tells what these participants are doing and, as a rule, also states their location.

This aperture sentence of folklore may be introduced by an exclamatory expression (anē 'hey', or by the verb ilam 'you look', which is equivalent in function to the exclamatory expression), or by a paragraph marker angkay (in the case of a story that is an excerpt from a standard 'epic' story), or by none of these.

Example 1.

Ah Utot ano, nag-ah ano hen andi rel Rat rep fell rep rel that ngayug yag indahana. coconut and found-(it)-he	Rat, a coconut fell and he found it.

The closure in folklore is an abrupt ending at the last event of the story, which is encoded by a verbal clause. This is optionally followed by the finis anggaydi 'that's all'.

Example 2.

Angkay ano aleman hen bulanna, coh rep fifth rel month-its ammagat agé da mamùbùyag hen andi utterly-rel also is blossoming rel that awayandi ya alembokayat anogudi. tree-that and money-tree-adj rep-also-that	And so then in its fifth month, that tree simply started to blossom, and it was a money tree, they say.

Major participants are introduced in folklore by a sentence topic.

Example 3.

Ah Lubyaw ano way away, ininggaw ah rel Lubyaw rep rel tree stayed-(he) rel bilig. mountain	Lubyaw, who was a tree, he lived in the mountain.

If a participant has major status for only one paragraph, he is simply mentioned as though he were already known, i.e. not by a sentence topic. In folklore, major participants are never introduced with the existential wada 'there is'.

Folklore, as the name implies, is a corpus of stories which are very familiar to the members of the speech community. These stories have as their central characters folk heroes and may be grouped according to the particular set of folk heroes involved. A dominant hero of a subgroup of stories may be mentioned in the aperture and closure of a folklore narrative, even though he has no major participant status and is not referred to elsewhere in that story. (e.g. Mangolindaw is mentioned in the first and last sentence of the story about Ekkabaw, his sister, even though he has no part whatever in the plot of the story. Both these characters are known to the audience from other stories in the subgroup.)

Another feature of folklore narrative in Balangao is that it does not relate the hearer temporally or spatially to the story. There may be temporal or spatial orientation in the story, but it is totally self-contained. It does not relate the hearer, who is in the 'here and now', to the 'there and then' of the story. The hearer is simply assumed to be watching from inside the situation. Both historical and current event narratives do relate the hearer, who is outside the situation, to the story temporally and frequently spatially also.

Historical narrative

The aperture in historical narrative is ad namenghan ano 'long ago, they say'. This aperture secures a time relationship between the present in which the hearer exists and the past in which the narrative occurred. The first sentence of a historical narrative is nonverbal.

Example 4. (Text N, sentence 1)

Ad	namenghan	ano,	ad	Dangtalan	ano	hen
rel	long-ago	rep	rel	Dangtalan	rep	rel

babléy	da	Aponi	a	way	Golyab.
barrio	pl	Grandparent-our	echo-qu	rel	Golyab

Long ago, they say, Dangtalan was the barrio of our grandparent, Golyab.

The closure in historical narrative consists of a nonverbal 'pseudo-cleft' construction (Grimes 1975:338), or an existential clause, which returns the hearer to the present time.

Example 5.

Yadi	hen	laplapon	hen	ummaliyan	da	Ani	ahto.
that	rel	beginning	rel	coming-of	pl	Anne	here

That was the beginning of the coming of Anne and companion here.

Major participants in historical narrative are most commonly introduced by an existential clause, which begins with wada 'there is'. Major participants which are thematic for the whole discourse (as opposed to just a paragraph) may be introduced in a nominalized verbal clause discourse initial.

Example 6.

Hen ummaliyan da anà way Ani yah
rel came pl child rel Anne and-rel

The coming of the children Anne and Juami here to Balangao.

anà way Juami ahtod Balangao.
child rel Juami here-rel Balangao

Major participants thematic for one paragraph are introduced by the existential clause.

Example 7.

Angkay émméyda ad Mindanao, wada
coh went-they rel Mindanao there-is

And so they went to Mindanao and there was Mr. Dawson.

ah Mr. Dawson.
rel Mr. Dawson

The narrative text in the Appendix is of the historical subtype.

Current event narrative

The aperture in current event narrative is a nominalized verbal clause which states the topic to be reported, i.e. the main theme of the discourse.

Example 8.

Hen nangetnodà an da Juami an Ani.
rel escorted-I rel pl Juami rel Anne

My escorting of Juami and Anne.

The closure in this subtype is some type of return to or restatement of the starting point of the discourse. The beginning and the end must make a closed circle.

Example 9.

Nabigat agé, iligwatni way homàyat
next-morn also start-we rel come-home

The next morning, too, we started out to return home here at Butac.

eman	ahtod	Bétà.	Anggayha.	That's all.
surely	here-rel	Butac	end-that	

Major participants in current event narrative most commonly have no unique grammatical construction to introduce them. They are simply mentioned within the flow of the narrative, just as they would be in other subtypes if they had already been introduced. This is because the participants are usually known to speaker and hearer and need no special introduction. When one of these major participants is thematic for one paragraph, he is introduced in a preposed sentence topic.

2.2 Basic semantic structure of narrative

Although the three subtypes of narrative genre contrast in the ways described above, they all have the same basic semantic structure and dramatic arrangement.

2.2.1 Semantic discourse-structure

Teun van Dijk (1972:130-56) introduced the idea of identifying semantic macro-structures of texts. Actually, the concept of identifying the abstract of a text has been in use for many years, but the term 'macro-structure' is from van Dijk. It is a little difficult to determine the level of abstraction at which he meant the term to apply, i.e. whether a macro-structure is an abstraction of just one text or whether it could be an abstract of several similar texts. The concept that we have found useful here is that of a structure which potentially characterizes more than one text. Since we are not sure that this is what van Dijk had in mind we will use the term *semantic discourse structure* (or simply discourse structure) to refer to this concept. In this paper we posit one semantic discourse-structure for each of the four major discourse genre. A semantic discourse-structure is, therefore, a semantic construction abstract enough to characterize all or nearly all the texts of a given genre.[3]

To identify the semantic discourse-structures of each genre, we have employed a principle traditional to tagmemic theory, that of 'language as wave' (Pike 1959). Pike and Pike (1977:5) call this the principle of the 'dynamic (wave) perspective', and go on to say that 'any single unit can be viewed dynamically, as having beginning (initial margin), middle (nucleus) and end (final margin)'. All monologue discourse in Balangao has a beginning, which is the discourse *topic*, a middle which is the *development* of the topic, and an end or *conclusion*. For each genre described below, a three-part discourse-structure is proposed, using specific terms in place of the generic terms topic, development, and conclusion.

The semantic discourse-structure of narrative genre is as follows: the topic is the complication-situation; the development consists of narration; and the conclusion is the resolution.

The complication-situation is the discourse topic or 'global theme' of narrative genre. It includes the introduction of the major participants, any orientation as to time and location, and the 'inciting moment' (Longacre 1976:215), which is the fact or happening which makes the story worth telling.

The narration is made up of narrative schemata. These form the development of narrative genre and are discussed in the following subsection.

The resolution ends the narrative. It is the point at which the narrative has been aiming since the statement of the complication-situation. Normally, it resolves the problem or complication which was introduced at the beginning. However, in narratives which are minus tension, i.e. episodic or non-climactic (Longacre and Levinsohn 1977), the complication-situation may not include anything really problematic, and in such instances the resolution just brings the narrative to its end or logical cutoff point. This is frequently the case in current event narrative.

2.2.2 Semantic schema

The concept of schema, as we are using it in these papers, is similar to the notion of script as used by Linda Jones 1977. It is quite different, however, from the original use of the term 'script' in linguistics and Artificial Intelligence (e.g. Schank, Roger and Robert Abelson 1977), and it also differs from the use of 'schema' in cognitive psychology. (For discussion of these differences see the introduction to this volume and for a more complete discussion of schemata, theme, backbone, and discourse-structure, and how they inter-relate, see Section 6.

The typical schema of narrative genre is orientation, event, and evaluation.

Orientation is the constituent of the narrative schema which is in a 'support by orientation' relationship to the nucleus of the schema, i.e. it consists of information such as time, location, or circumstance (Beekman and Callow 1974:290).

Event is the nucleus of the narrative schema.[4] Since it is the nucleus, it is the 'developmental' part of the schema, not a 'support' part (Beekman and Callow 1974:288).

Evaluation is the final constituent of the narrative schema. Often the information included in this part of the schema is in a 'support by clarification' relationship to the nucleus.

2.2.3 Backbone

The nuclear constituents of the schemata of a discourse form the backbone of that discourse. The backbone can be considered the central developmental thread of the discourse, which runs vertically through the text from beginning to end, connecting topic and conclusion. This vertical thread connecting the nuclei of the schemata in a text may be described as the central thread of the 'warp' of the text, while the horizontal threads which connect the margins with the nucleus of each schema form the 'woof' of the text (Longacre 1978). Figure 2 illustrates the function of the backbone of a text. This figure is not meant to imply that there will always be pre and post margins with every schema. Example 10 in Section 2.3.2 also shows a schema with a compound nucleus.

topic

margin-------nucleus-------margin

margin-------nucleus-------margin development:
margin-------nucleus-------margin schemata

margin-------nucleus-------margin

conclusion

Figure 2. Backbone, the central vertical thread of a text

Event is the nuclear constituent of the narrative schema. Therefore, the event-line is the backbone of narrative genre. There may be verbs in a narrative which encode events that are not part of the backbone. This could be the case where propositions or whole schemata are embedded in one of the margin slots and functioning in a support relationship in the schema in which they are embedded. They are not part of the central developmental thread, and may not be in chronological sequence, as the events of the backbone are.

2.2.4 Dramatic arrangement of narrative (plot)

We are treating the basic semantic structure in terms of discourse-structure and schema to be consistent with the semantic structure which can be identified in other genre. Plot is a type of semantic or dramatic arrangement (Callow 1974:26) which is particularly relevant to narrative, although there is some plot-like arrangement in all genre.

Plot may be more directly related to the communication situation, and in particular, the illocutionary act, than it is to basic semantic structure, although plot and semantic discourse-structure do share some boundaries. Even so, there are surface structure realizations of the constituents of plot (Walrod 1977), and some common boundaries with semantic discourse-structures.

Plot has to do with the effectiveness and significance of the text. Some background information is prerequisite, followed by a complication/inciting-moment, which is the speaker's claim that what he is about to say is significant and warrants listening to. The dramatic arrangement of the remainder of the text, with sections of buildup which lead to a climax, corresponds to the speaker's effort to maintain and increase the tension introduced by the complication. The climax is the point of maximum tension and is immediately followed by the denouement, which resolves the complication around which the story was built, and thereby releases the tension.

An effective narrative discourse is one in which the speaker makes good on his claim that the story is significant; he keeps the attention of the audience by maintaining tension until the complication is finally resolved.

In genre other than narrative, the speaker's intention is likely to be something other than just maintaining tension, amusing and/or exciting the audience. In hortatory genre, for example, his intention is to effect some change in behavior. But again, the effectiveness of his speech act could be measured by the degree to which he accomplished his intention (Hale 1976).

Six constituents of plot arrangement can be identified in Balangao narrative. These are: setting, inciting moment, developing tension, climax, denouement, and conclusion.

Setting includes the introduction of the major participants and any orientation as to time, location, or activity that they are involved in (Appendix, Text N, sentences 1-4).

Inciting moment is normally a situation, event, or event-sequence which triggers conflict (Text N, sentences 5-8) and together with setting, comprises the topic of a narrative discourse. The participants introduced and the conflict or problem that they have is what the discourse is all about.

Developing tension is the part of the narrative, made up of one or more sections (episodes), which has the function of building up the tension and moving the story toward the climax (Text N, sentences 9-18). Each buildup section has its own plot-like arrangement as well, with its own climax.

Climax is the event or episode of maximum tension in the discourse (Text N, sentences 19-21).

Denouement is that part of the dramatic arrangement which resolves (or begins to resolve) the conflict introduced at the beginning (Text N, sentences 22-27). "A crucial event happens which makes resolution possible. Things begin to loosen up" (Longacre 1976:215).

Conclusion is the final wrap up. It resolves any details still unresolved, and brings the story to an end (Text N, sentences 28-33).

2.3 Grammatical realizations of the semantic structure

Every semantic construction, and each constituent of a semantic construction, has its own grammatical realization.[5]

2.3.1 Realization of the discourse-structure

The realization of the semantic discourse-structure of narrative genre is the whole text (see Text N). The three constituents of the discourse-structure have their own realizations.

The complication-situation of narrative is realized by the initial paragraph of a narrative (see Text N, sentences 1-8). This semantic/grammatical realization rule may be written:

$S_{comp\text{-}sit}/G_{par.1}$

The narration is realized by all paragraphs from the second one (paragraph 2) through the penultimate one (paragraph F-1, 'paragraph final minus one') (Text N, sentences 9-27):

$S_{narr}/G_{par.2...par.F\text{-}1}$

The conclusion is realized by the final paragraph (Text N, sentences 28-33):

$S_{concl}/G_{par.F}$

(Paragraph boundary markers are discussed in Section 2.4.1).

2.3.2 Realization of the schemata

The main body of a narrative discourse is made up of narrative schemata. There may be other kinds of schemata embedded in the discourse. This is particularly common in the conclusion of the narrative, where an expository or explanatory schema may be found. It is also common in the discourse setting.

The typical narrative schema is the three-part semantic construction with the constituents of orientation, event, and evaluation. These are tagmeme-like constituents, i.e. each of these three labels refers to the functional slot, and along with each there is a filler set. The fillers of the constituents of semantic schemata are propositions. It is common to have a single proposition as the filler of each slot of a schema, but it is also quite possible to have compound fillers of any slot. Discourse that is chronologically linked (narrative and procedural) very often has compound fillers of the nuclear slot, i.e. strings of events as the nucleus of one schema. Discourses that are logically linked, however, typically have compound fillers of the postnuclear slot, which contains explanatory or 'support' propositions.

The norm or 'rule' concerning the grammatical realization of a semantic schema is that the marginal constituents of the schema are realized by dependent clauses; the nuclear constituent is realized by one or more independent clauses; and the whole schema is realized by a paragraph, although the paragraph may consist of just one sentence (e.g. when each schema constituent is filled by a single proposition). A phrase or even a word, rather than a clause, may be the grammatical realization of some propositions, e.g. 'after a while' or 'then'.

Figure 3 shows an example of the grammatical realization of a narrative schema.

Narrative Schema	Orientation	
	Angkay ano inilan Selay way lommayaw coh rep saw Lizard rel left	And so then when Lizard saw that Usok had gone,
	ah Usok, rel Usok	
	Event	
	bummûnag ya ammag palalo ano hen came-out-he and utterly very rep rel	he came out, and he was so very angry at Crab
	andi aningalngalna an Aggama that anger-his rel Crab	
	Evaluation	
	te dan hayanghang ano way télén hen because is stinging rep rel very rel	because his tail which had been cut off really did sting!
	iposna way napolhan! tail-his rel cut-off	

Figure 3. Grammatical realization of a narrative schema

The example in Figure 3 has a single proposition realizing each schema constituent. Therefore, each is realized by a paragraph consisting of a single complex sentence. However, it is very common in narrative to have several propositions realizing one schema constituent, especially the nuclear one. Example 10 is a schema with a compound filler of the 'event' slot.

Example 10. (Text N, sentences 22-25)

Orientation

Angkay ano hiyadi way nahéhdém,
coh rep that rel late-night

And so then, as it was late that night,

Event

Yag hen andi onga ano, hen pés-éy
and rel that child rep rel first

nan-ī-iwi ano wat hen andi limana. Yag
wiggled/moved rep ret rel that hand-his and

na-aw-awni ano way tad-énda, yag dan
a-little-while rep rel touch-they and is-he

atong. Ekatda anowén, aŵ umnéhtaaw
warm said-they rep-sig adj bathe-we

te matagu ménat. Andaat umhén ano,
because live-he maybe then-they bathe rep

wat kawkakawkawénda hen tapâna;
rel clean-out-they rel mouth-his

kena-anda hen dala,
removed-they rel blood

that child, they say, the first thing to move was his hand. And a little later, as they touched him, he is warm! They said, "Oh my, let's bathe him because maybe he'll live." Then they bathed him and they cleaned out his mouth; they removed the blood

Evaluation

te an ano ammag napnoh dala
because adj rep utterly full-rel blood

hen tapâna.
rel mouth-his

because his mouth was full of blood.

It is also common to have no evaluation in a schema. In fact, the evidence from narrative texts is rather ambivalent concerning schemata; it is in other genre that strong evidence is found for three-part schemata being the 'norm'. Example 11 is a narrative schema with no 'evaluation' constituent.

Example 11.

Orientation

Angkay hommàyatda ano,
coh came-home-they rep

And so then, they came into the village,

Event

andaat ilan hen andiday tatagu way
then-they see rel those people rel

ammag an nadulepat way pahig natéy.
utterly adj sprawled-out rel pure dead

Andaat ano alan hen andi balatat
then-they rep got rel that banana-rel

ehadagda hen andiday natéy.
cause-to-sit-they rel those dead

Bab-alatbaténda didaat bugungunanda dida
line-up-they them-rel sleep-with-they them

a hen andi nadhém.
echo-qu rel that night

and they saw those people absolutely sprawled out, all of them dead. Then they got banana stalks so that they could make the dead sit up. They line them up and slept with them that night.

2.3.3 Realization of the backbone

The event line is the central developmental thread or backbone of narrative discourse. All main event propositions are on the backbone. Quoted material spoken by any major participant in the story is on the backbone, since the verb 'said' is an event, and the content of what is said is included in that event. The content of a quotation may refer or allude to other events which are not otherwise overtly mentioned in the text, but which nevertheless may be a part of the event line of the story. If they were omitted from the backbone, it would not be an intelligible abstract of the story, which is what the backbone should be.

Orientation, evaluation, and any 'aside' comments are off the backbone in narrative.

2.3.4 Realization of the plot

In this section we discuss just some of the grammatical devices which clearly mark certain plot constituents. We do not treat things like sentence length and information rate, which also vary according to position in the discourse.

A realization of the setting constituent of the plot is the sentence-initial temporal phrases, such as ad namenghan ano 'long ago', hen algawan 'one day', or hen hiyadi way tempo 'at that time' (see Text N, sentences 1-4). This concentration of temporal phrases occurs nowhere else in narrative discourse.

Conjunctions are the real diagnostic feature of the rest of the plot constituents of narrative. The cohesive phrase yag angkay ano hiyadi 'and then reportedly upon that' introduces the inciting moment of Text N, (sentences 5-8). The cohesives yag, angkay, and hiyadi are all used by themselves, often at clause or sentence boundaries. At significant boundaries, such as paragraph, angkay and hiyadi are often used together. But in Text N, all three are used together, signalling the beginning of the inciting moment constituent.

In the developing tension constituent of the plot, the conjunction yag 'and' is used almost exclusively between clauses.

In the climax of a story, and also occasionally in sentences immediately preceding or following the climax, the conjunction yag is almost never used, anat 'and then' being used consistently in its place. In the peak of Text N, anat is the only conjunction used (Text N, sentences 19-21). Anat may also be used elsewhere in narratives, but only in climactic parts of episodes or paragraphs.

Another aspect of the realization of the climax in narrative is tense shift. Narrative is past tense oriented, but there is a shift to nonpast tense in the climax. There is no past tense verb in the climax of Text N (sentences 19-21). The only other use of nonpast tense in narrative is in paragraph peaks, where the sequence sentence is often used. (A sequence sentence consists of two clauses joined by the conjunction anat, which is always followed by a nonpast tense verb.)

The conjunction wat 'and so' is the one typically found in narrative discourse following the climax, especially as a part of the realization of the denouement. Again, this conjunction is almost totally restricted to this part of discourse. Its first occurrence in Text N is sentence 22, the beginning of the denouement.

the perceiver, modifiable by experience, and somehow specific to what is being perceived;

3. an information-accepting system, like a format in computer-programming language, which specifies that information must be of a certain sort if it is to be interpreted coherently (Neisser 1976).

It is part 3 of the above definition which is similar to our use of the term schema for a semantic construct, i.e. a semantic format for encoding and decoding small sets of interrelated propositions. The content of the propositions is variable; what is standard and 'rule-governed' is the format for combining them in order to communicate particular relationships between them. In one sense this is a more general use of the term schema than in cognitive psychology, since the content of propositititions may vary almost infinitely. In another sense, it is more specific, since the propositions must be related in a particular way.

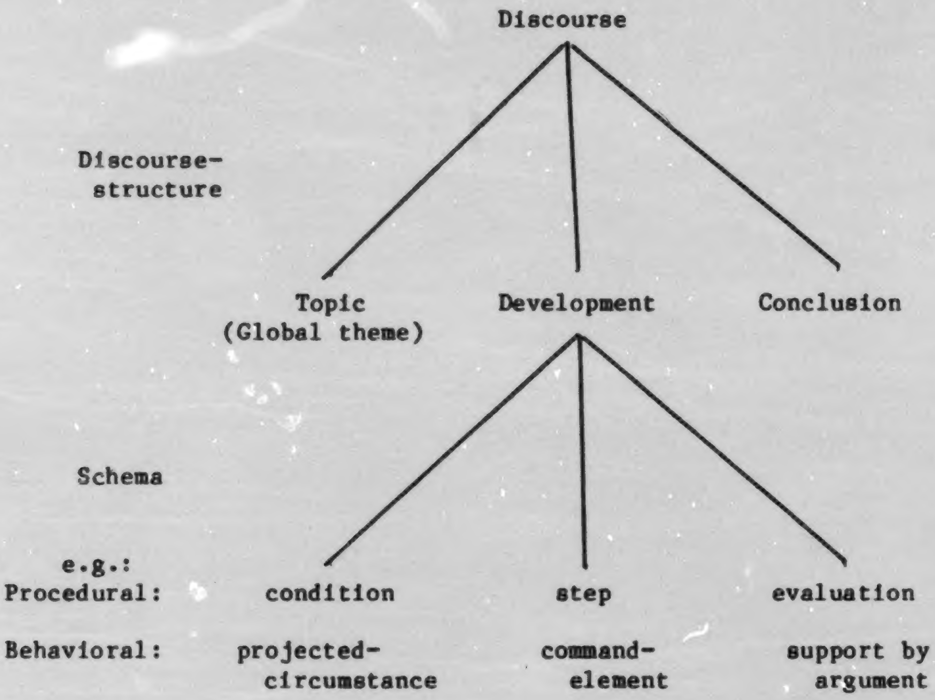

Figure 1. Discourse-structure and schema

2.4 Cohesion in narrative

Virtually all structures in discourse contribute in some way to the cohesive nature of a text. The dramatic arrangement (plot and plot-like structures) certainly contributes to the cohesive quality of a text. Halliday and Hasan (1976:4) propose the term cohesive 'tie' for any device which causes a text to cohere, and they propose five categories of cohesive ties: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.

A monograph could profitably be written on the use of these categories of ties in Balangao, but in this section we necessarily restrict our discussion, primarily to the category of conjunction. Other systems which contribute very directly to cohesion in narrative are discussed in the following sections on person orientation, tense, and participant reference.

When Balangao narrative texts are arranged in a three-column display, it becomes obvious that each column has its own set of conjunctions or cohesive devices, i.e. devices which link any clause or larger unit with the unit(s) preceding or following in the text. The three columns are filled respectively by prenuclear clauses, nuclear clauses, and postnuclear clauses. (The columns correspond to the schema constituents of orientation, event, and evaluation. In fact, the display is the primary heuristic for identifying schemata.)[6]

Figure 4 displays the different cohesive devices found in narrative, and their distribution as related to nuclear clauses.

Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
Par.conj.<angkay>	yag 'and'	te 'because'
Time margin	anat 'and then'	ta 'so that'
Tail-head linkage	wat 'and so'	
Topicalization		

Figure 4. Cohesives in narrative

2.4.1 Prenuclear cohesives

The cohesive devices listed in the prenuclear column in Figure 4 all mark paragraph boundary. In fact, these paragraph boundary cohesives are the only kinds of clauses or phrases which occur in the prenuclear position. A prenuclear clause or phrase clearly identifies the beginning of a paragraph in narrative.

<Angkay> is a set of conjunctions used at paragraph boundary. (The set consists of angkay hiyadi, angkay, hiyadi, and yadi.) It occurs as the first word, or within the first clause, of the new paragraph. It is never used to begin the first paragraph of a discourse (unless the text is an excerpt from some larger story), since it signals chronological sequence. The parts of the text that are joined by <angkay> are in a prior-subsequent relation. The English sequence conjunction 'then' is insufficient to translate the meaning of <angkay>, since the latter has some connotation of the completion of the previous event or sequence of events. 'Whereupon' would be a more accurate gloss, but again is insufficient because it does not express the paragraph boundary quality.

Time margin is a cohesive device consisting of a phrase or clause which encodes temporal orientation. This is used when there is some break in the time line of the story, i.e. a time lapse. Normally the events of a narrative are related to each other in immediate or very close chronological succession. When there is a time lapse during which no events occur of significance to the development of the story, then a new paragraph is begun, with a time margin to signal the time lapse.

Example 12. Time margin

Da ano pomaway, ginumhadda hen
is rep become-light came-down-they rel

duway ungunga
two-rel children

When it was becoming daylight, two children came-out-of-the-house

Tail-head linkage is the cohesive device in narrative in which the first clause of a new paragraph either reiterates the last event or summarizes the sequence of events of the preceding paragraph. This anaphoric clause which links paragraphs is very similar to the temporal paragraph linkers of Tamang, as described by Jennifer Hepburn (Grimes 1977:331).

Example 13. Tail-head linkage

Inalana ano hen haphap di away, yag
got-he rep rel sliver rel wood and

bangidna ya bang-awna anat ano man-amêh.
bolo-his and spear-his then-he rep bathe

Nalpas anoy man-amêh, yag hommâyat ah
finished rep-rel bathe and came-home rel

bablêy ad Madannaw.
barrio rel Madannaw

He took a sliver of wood and it turned into his bolo and his spear, and then he went and bathed. When he had finished bathing, he entered the barrio of Madannaw.

Topicalization is the cohesive device in which a noun phrase is fronted in the first sentence of a new paragraph. This device stands out clearly in Balangao, which, like other Philippine languages, is of the VSO (Verb-Subject-Object) type. This device is most frequently used when there is a change of thematic participant from that of the preceding paragraph.

Example 14. Topicalization (Text N, sentence 6)

Ah inan Golyab yah amana,
rel mother Golyab and-rel father-his,

gapo ta innilada way nasokokda way maid
since knew-they rel trapped-they rel none

én-énnénda way lomayaw, hemhemmàda way
how-to-do-they rel leave thought-they rel

mangaliyén,
saying-sig

Golyab's mother and father, since they knew that they were trapped and there was no way to leave, they thought, saying...

Although it is common to find any of the above four paragraph boundary cohesives introducing a new paragraph, it is at least equally common to find the first one, angkay, in combination with one of the other three, forming a complex paragraph boundary cohesive.

Example 15. Angkay + time margin
(Text N, sentence 22)

Angkay ano hiyadi way nahéhdém...
coh rel that(coh) rel late-night

And so then as it was late that night,...

Example 16. Angkay + tail-head linkage

...andaat manlugan hen papol. Angkay
and-they ride rel ship coh

hiyadi way nanluganda hen papol,...
that(coh) rel rode-they rel ship

And then they rode the ship. And so it was when they had ridden in the ship...

Example 17. Angkay + topicalization
(Text N, sentence 14)

Angkay hiyadi ano, andi babuy way
coh that(coh) rel that pig rel

mungaw,...
white

And so then, they say, a white pig,...

These three complex paragraph boundary cohesives may be referred to as <*angkay*> plus relative clause expansion. The particle *way* introduces the relative clause in Balangao.

Figure 5 displays frequency of occurrence of the paragraph boundary cohesives in several texts examined. Since the total number of paragraphs in the texts was near 100, the figures may be considered to be frequency percentages.

Paragraph cohesive	Frequency
<*Angkay*> (± rel.cl. expansion)	45
Time margin	18
Tail-head linkage	16
Topicalization	10

Figure 5. Frequency of paragraph boundary cohesives

2.4.2 Nuclear cohesives

The nuclear propositions in narrative discourse are typically linked by one of three conjunctions: *yag* 'and', *anat* 'and then', or *wat* 'and so'. These conjunctions may join sentences or clauses within sentences, but they never function as paragraph boundary cohesives. (However, *yag* may be included in a complex paragraph cohesive or in a time margin.)

The most common conjunction is the coordinating conjunction *yag* 'and', which links consecutive propositions in the nuclear slot, either within a sentence or across a sentence boundary.

Example 18. (Text N, sentence 12)

Yag andaat ano mambangad andiday
and then-they rep return those

eHannang, yag innalada andi onga way
people-of-Hannang and got-they that child rel

ini-inggaw ad dolkom andi kallong, yag
staying rel inside that wooden-box and

ginitgittâda ano hen tapâna ya hen
sliced-they rep rel mouth-his and rel

uluna.
head-his

And then those people-from-Hannang returned, and they got the child that was inside the wooden barrel, and they sliced his mouth and head.

The sequence sentence conjunction *anat* 'and then' is also a typical cohesive in the nuclear position in narrative. Nonpast tense obligatorily marks the verb following *anat*. The sequence sentence construction (two clauses in chronological sequence linked by *anat*), is characteristic of the peak of a paragraph or discourse (peak encodes the semantic or dramatic climax). In the peak paragraph of a discourse, a sequence of from two to five clauses may occur, each linked with *anat* and each having a main verb in nonpast tense. In nonpeak paragraphs, the use of *anat* is infrequent. When it does occur, it is generally in the sentence which is the peak of that paragraph.

Example 19. (Text N, sentences 19,20)

Angkay hommàyatda ano, andaat
coh came-home-they rep then-they

ilan hen andiday tatagu way ammag an
see rel those people rel utterly adj

nadulepat way pahig natéy. Andaat ano
sprawled-out rel pure dead then-they rep

alan hen andi balatat ehadagda
got rel that banana-rel cause-to-sit-they

hen andiday natéy.
rel those dead

And so then, they came into the village, and they saw those people absolutely sprawled out, all of them dead. Then they got banana stalks so that they could make the dead sit up.

The third and last common conjunction in narrative is *wat* 'and so'. The use of *wat* in narrative is different from its use in expository and hortatory discourse, where it is very common and has the meaning of 'therefore' or 'with the result that'. When *wat* is used in narrative, it is generally introducing the last clause of a paragraph and encodes the idea of 'and immediately following that' or 'and so then'. (Wherever *wat* can be used in narrative, *yag* could substitute for it.)

Example 20. (Text N, sentence 25)

Andaat umhén ano, wat kawkakawkawénda
then-they bathe rep rel clean-out-they

hen tapàna.
rel mouth-his

Then they bathed him and they cleaned out his mouth.

As well as linking two consecutive nuclear clauses, these three conjunctions may link a prenuclear construction with the following nuclear construction. Yag may serve as a link between a prenuclear <angkay> construction or tail-head linkage and the nuclear construction which follows. Anat may also link prenuclear with nuclear, when the prenuclear construction is a clause or contains an embedded relative clause. And occasionally, the conjunction wat may link a topicalized noun phrase with the following nuclear construction. None of the three conjunctions ever links a nuclear construction with a postnuclear one.

2.4.3 Postnuclear cohesives

Postnuclear constructions are linked to the preceding nuclear constructions by the conjunctions te 'because' or ta 'so that'. These conjunctions occur infrequently in narrative discourse, and when they do occur, they are typically found in the setting or conclusion.

2.4.4 The relative clause link

The particle way, which introduces a relative clause, is the cohesive which links the two parts of a 'generic-specific' construction. These are more common in the prenuclear position, but may also occur throughout the discourse.

Example 21. (Text N, sentence 5)

Yag angkay ano hiyadi way émméyda hen
and coh rep that rel went-they rel

andiday i nèpalanos ad
those go celebration-for-killing-with rel

Amungun, yag andiday nantongaw ah
Amungun and those stayed-at-home rel

babléy way manad-an anda ungunga,
barrio rel old-women rel(pl) children

enalekomkom ano hen andiday eHannang
surrounded rep rel those people-of-Hannang

dida.
them

And so then, in that those people went to celebrate for killing at Amungun, those who stayed home in the barrio who were the old women and children, those Hannang people surrounded them.

2.5 Person orientation and participant reference

In narrative genre, the person orientation is normally third person. A story may have first person orientation if it is about the narrator or involves him; this is only possible in the current event subtype of narrative or historical narratives involving a narrator.

Participant reference is an area which deserves something much better than the superficial discussion below. But our effort to compare four genre is at the expense of detailed analysis in most other areas. Rules need to be written concerning the use of nouns versus pronouns in Balangao, but all we can propose here is a general rule, namely that pronouns may be used when they do not result in ambiguity, otherwise nouns are used.

Although we cannot properly cover the area, there are two interesting aspects of participant reference discussed below: thematic participants and zero reference.

Thematic participants were discussed briefly in Section 2.1, particularly, how they are introduced in each subtype of narrative. In all types of narrative, however, a feature which is typical of reference to thematic participants is that they are bracketed in the paragraph in which they occur. That is, they are introduced in a noun phrase, often topicalized, in the first sentence of the paragraph, and they are referred to again by a noun phrase, often topicalized, in the last sentence of the paragraph. In the middle of the paragraph, they may be referred to by a noun, a pronoun, or not at all. (Examples of participants bracketed in paragraphs: pig, Text N, sentences 14-18; child, Text N, sentences 22-27.)

Zero reference is a feature which occurs medially in a narrative discourse, in places where the participants are engaged in dialogue. Normally, in a narrative, the speaker of any quoted statement in the story is identified in a quote formula following the quoted material. But as the drama of a story intensifies, pure dialogue may freely occur without the use of the quote formula, or any other overt identification of the speakers. Context or cultural clues clearly indicate who is speaking. Once a context has been established in which certain participants are involved in certain activities or engrossed in certain attitudes, overt reference to the participants may be omitted without any resulting ambiguity.

Example 22.

```
    Nanlooh hen duway   bulan, da ekat
    past    rel two-rel month  is say

inan       Juami an  ahawanaén,     pakay
mother-of  Juami rel spouse-her-sig why

nabugiyà   peet          nò?  O   kagé, no
pregnant-I unexpectedly then yes also  if
```

Two months past, and Juami's mother is saying to her husband, "Why, how is it that I'm pregnant!" "Why, of course, and when did it start?" "It's two months (now)." And likewise also Anne's mother...

kamana	hen	nenlapowana?	Duway	bulan.
when	rel	started-its	two-rel	month

Umat	agé	inan	Ani...
likewise	also	mother-of	Anne...

2.6 Tense in narrative

Narrative discourse has a past tense orientation. Most of the verbs in a narrative are marked for past tense. The progressive tense (aspect) occurs when one action or event overlaps temporally with one or more following actions or events.

Example 23.

Angkay	dada	lomayaw	ano	hen	andiday
coh	they-are	leaving	rep	rel	those

eHannang,	ménat	a	no	nappég
people-of-Hannang	maybe	echo-qu	if	tired-of

andi	onga	way	ini-inggaw	ah
that	child	rel	staying-inside	rel

kallong,	yag	ekatna	anowén,	Ama.
wooden-barrel	and	said-he	rep-sig	Father

And so then those people from Hannang are leaving, and maybe the child is tired of staying in the wooden barrel, and he apparently said, "Daddy."

The use of nonpast tense is rare in narrative. When it is used, it is related to the dramatic arrangement or plot. Nonpast tense is used to achieve a highlighting effect in the climactic (peak) part of a paragraph, and in the climactic paragraph(s) of the discourse. 'Heightened vividness may be obtained in a story by tense shift,' (Longacre 1976:219). A grammatical device employed very regularly in the peak of a paragraph or discourse is the sequence sentence, which encodes two or more consecutive actions or propositions. The clauses of this sentence type are linked by the sequence conjunction anat 'and then', and the verb of any clause introduced by the conjunction anat is marked for nonpast tense.

Example 24. (Text N, sentences 19-21)

Angkay	hommàyatda	ano,	andaat
coh	came-home-they	rep	then-they

ilan	hen	andiday	tatagu	way	ammag	an
see	rel	those	people	rel	utterly	adj

And so then, they came into the village, and they saw those people absolutely sprawled out, all of them dead. Then they got banana stalks

nadulepat way pahig natéy. Andaat ano
sprawled-out rel pure dead then-they rep

alan hen andi balatat ehadagda
got rel that banana-rel cause-to-sit-they

hen andiday natéy. Bab-alatbaténda didaat
rel those dead line-up-they them-rel

bugungunanda dida a hen andi nadhém.
sleep-with-they them echo-qu rel that night

so that they could make the dead sit up. They lined them up and slept with them that night.

3. Procedural genre (cf. Appendix, Text P)

Procedural genre is characterized by plus chronological linkage but minus agent orientation. The backbone is made up of the steps of the procedure. Especially noteworthy in this genre is the method of marking propositions as being on the backbone or off the backbone. Backbone propositions are almost always preceded by the 'tail-head' cohesive device, whereas off-the-backbone propositions are not (see 3.2.3).

3.1 Subtypes of procedural

Procedural genre has three subtypes: pure procedural, imperative procedural, and explanatory procedural. The pure procedural is a pure 'how-to-do/make' text. The speaker's intention is likely to be nothing more than to inform the hearer about the steps to follow to accomplish a given goal. The imperative procedural is a 'you-should-do-it-this-way' text. The explanatory procedural seems to mix equal parts of 'how-to-do' something and 'why-we-do-it-this-way'. Therefore, there is much more evaluative comment supplied by the speaker in explanatory procedural than in the pure.

In the pure procedural, almost every new step of the procedure is preceded by a conditional clause which begins with no 'if/when'. The steps themselves are a sort of nonspecific imperative, i.e. there is no second person pronoun, so the hearer is not being directly commanded to perform the steps.

The imperative procedural is almost identical to the pure procedural, except that like hortatory discourse, it is oriented to second person. The hearer is being instructed or commanded to perform the steps of the procedure.

The use of pronouns in this subtype is identical to the use of pronouns in hortatory discourse (see Section 4.5), but in other respects (e.g. cohesion and backbone made up of steps related to each other in chronological sequence) this is a bonafide subtype of procedural genre. The social setting in which a discourse of this subtype would be appropriate is that of an older person addressing a younger person. This is so because the subtype involves telling someone what to do.

In the explanatory procedural there is no imperative flavor at all. In fact, third person pronouns are used, so the hearer is not being told how he should do something, but is being told how someone else does something. In this subtype, the conditional clauses do not begin with no, 'if/when', but rather with mag-ay 'should-it-be-that'. The two conjunctions are really almost synonymous, but in pure procedural the emphasis seems to be the 'when' of the conditional, and in explanatory it is the 'if' (the possibility).

This subtype of discourse is grouped with the procedural rather than expository, where one would normally expect an 'explanatory' text. The reason for this is that although there are numerous subordinate clauses related to the main clauses in some logical relationship, the main clauses themselves (which make up the backbone) are related to each other in chronological sequence. They are the 'steps' in some culturally stereotyped segment of behavior. Furthermore, the cohesive device connecting the steps of the backbone (although it uses a different conditional conjunction) is of the tail-head type typical of procedural genre (see Section 3.4). The sentences of this subtype of procedural are verbal, whereas in expository genre they are almost all nonverbal.

3.2 Basic semantic structure of procedural

Although the three subtypes of procedural differ in the specific ways described above, they do not differ in their basic (abstract) semantic structure. They are characterized by the same discourse-structure and the same schemata.

3.2.1 Semantic discourse-structure

As in all discourse genre, the elements of topic, development, and conclusion can be identified. In procedural genre these are the goal, the procedure, and the accomplishment.

Goal is the global theme (see Section 6) of procedural. It is the end to be achieved, the goal at which the procedure is aimed.

Procedure is the main line of development in this genre. It consists of procedural schemata the nuclear constituents of which are the steps of the procedure.

Accomplishment is the final constituent of this discourse-structure. It signals the completion of the procedure and the accomplishment of the goal or refers to the use of the product of the procedure, which implies completion.

3.2.2 Semantic schema

The typical schema of procedural genre is condition, step, and evaluation.

Condition is the first constituent of the procedural schema. A condition is posited, and if that condition is met, then one can or should perform the following step.

Step is the nuclear constituent of the procedural schema. It is one of the series of activities which make up the whole procedure.

Evaluation is the final constituent. In the pure procedural this constituent is rare, but in the explanatory procedural it is frequent. It consists of evaluative comment concerning the nucleus of the schema, the step.

3.2.3 Backbone

The steps of the procedure form the backbone of procedural texts. Steps are the nuclear constituents of the procedural schemata and therefore form the backbone. As with the events which form the backbone of narrative, the steps are related to each other in chronological sequence.

3.2.4 Dramatic arrangement of procedural

As was pointed out earlier (Section 2.2.4), plot is the dramatic arrangement which is particularly relevant to narrative, but there is some plot-like arrangement in all genre. Hale (1976) has posited a structure in discourse which he calls 'focal content'. Focal content is the structure which must be present if the discourse is to be significant. "An effective discourse must have a point, must succeed in performing some speech act, must get something across..." (Hale 1976:9). The focal content structure meets this condition of significance by setting up a degree of tension at or near the beginning of a discourse (to capture the audience), by maintaining the tension throughout, and by resolving the tension only shortly before releasing the audience at the end. Hale described this focal content structure particularly with reference to narrative discourse, but by substituting 'claim of significance' for 'tension' above, the description of focal content can be borrowed to describe the dramatic arrangement of all discourse genre.

The dramatic arrangement of procedural (although of all the genre, this one has the least tendency to be dramatic in the usual sense of the word) is an initial claim of significance to capture the attention of the audience, namely the statement of the goal of the procedure, followed by maintaining the claim and the audience attention with the steps of the procedure, and finally making good on the claim and releasing the attention of the audience with the statement of the accomplishment of the goal.

3.3 Grammatical realizations of the semantic structure

3.3.1 Realization of the discourse-structure

The whole procedural discourse-structure is realized by the whole procedural text (see Appendix, Text P).

The first constituent of the discourse-structure, the goal, is realized by a conditional clause which encodes the global theme of the discourse. In a written text, this global theme is realized by the title, and the following text begins with a clause such as 'The first thing to do...'

Example 25. Goal in pure procedural

No waday yuyu ah ablawén,
if there-is-rel mud-fish rel cook-viand

hen pés-éy ammaan...
rel first to-do

If there are mud fish
to cook, the first thing
to do...

Example 26. Goal in explanatory procedural

Mag-ay da hamham-én way mamyah,
should-it-be is thinking rel make-wine

(i...)
go

Should (you) be
thinking to make wine,
(go...)

Example 27. Goal in imperative procedural

No mamayaw-ayu way ungunga,
if make-field-you rel children

If you, children, will
make a rice-field...

The second constituent, the procedure, is realized by a series of sentences which encode the steps of the procedure. This series of sentences also realizes the procedural schemata (see next section).

The third and final constituent, the accomplishment, is realized by the final sentence of the procedural text.

Example 28. Accomplishment in pure procedural (and imperative procedural)

No oman-andu, h∂noton yag enhamal ah
when become-long uproot and planted rel

payaw. Anggaydi.
rice-field finish-that

When (they) are long,
uproot and plant in the
rice field. That's all.

In explanatory procedural, this final sentence is a cleft sentence, relating procedure to goal.

Example 29. Accomplishment in explanatory procedural

Yaha hen ekaman hen man-ahawa. That is how to marry.
that rel manner rel to-marry That's all.

Anggaydi.
finish-that

3.3.2 Realization of the schemata

The procedural text is developed by procedural schemata. These make up the part of the text between the statement of the goal and the accomplishment of the goal. The typical procedural schema has the constituents of condition, step, and evaluation.

The condition constituent is realized by a conditional dependent clause initial in the sentence.

Example 30. Condition in pure procedural (Text P, sentence 7)

No nalpas way naupal When it is finished
if finished rel soaked being soaked,

Example 31. Condition in explanatory procedural

Mag-ay ta waday Should it be that he
possibility so-that there-is-rel finds someone to marry,

indahana ah shaw-én,
found-he rel marry

The step constituent is realized by an independent verbal clause which encodes a step of the procedure.

Example 32. (Text P, sentence 15)

...empénpén hen banga. ...stack (it) into the
stacked rel pot pot.

The evaluation constituent of the procedural schema is realized by a dependent clause following the independent clause of the sentence and related to it in some logical relationship such as reason or result.

Example 33. (Text P, sentnece 17)

...ta adi pom-at hen andi day-at so-that neg stick rel that sticky-rice	...so that the sticky rice won't stick to its wrapper.
hen oppeopna. rel wrapper-its	

The complete procedural schema is typically realized by one sentence in the body of a procedural text, as displayed in Figure 6.

Procedural schema		
Condition		
	No nalpas way naipuwan, if finished rel sprinkled	When it is sprinkled-on-it,
Step		
	empatang ah patyay laid rel shelf	put (it) on the shelf
Evaluation		
	ta malango so-that be-dry	so that it will dry.

Figure 6. Realization of a procedural schema

Procedural schemata may also have compound fillers in the realization of the 'step' constituent. This is characteristic of the peak of a procedural text.

Example 34. (Text P, sentence 12)

No nalpas way natampǒ if finished rel pounded-to-flour	When it's finished being made into flour, add water and work with your hands, then wrap (it).
tenalwan ah danum yag penelot, filled/added rel water and worked-with-hands	
anat oppeopan. then wrap	

3.3.3 Realization of the backbone

The backbone of procedural is made up of the steps of the procedure, and these are realized by the independent verbal clauses of the text. These backbone clauses are always preceded by a conditional clause which functions as tail-head linkage, linking the step in chronological sequence with the preceding step. Tail-head linkage signals the completion of the previous step, whereas other conditional clauses do not. In the peak of a procedure especially, several steps may be encoded by a string of verbs or verbal clauses linked by the coordinating conjunction yag or the sequence conjunction anat. The tail-head linkage preceding the first verb of such a string marks the whole string as backbone.

There may be independent clauses in the text which are not on the backbone or theme-line. Such clauses will not be preceded by the tail-head linkage device, but rather by some other cohesive device, or by another clause which is off the theme-line. Once the speaker steps off the theme-line by saying a sentence which is introduced by a cohesive device other than the tail-head linkage, he does not get back on the theme-line until he begins a sentence with tail-head linkage, referring back to the step encoded by the last clause which was on the theme-line. That is, once a sentence is spoken, which is off the backbone all following clauses and sentences are off the backbone until the tail-head linkage is again used to establish the link with the last step on the backbone. The event of the preceding step is restated or paraphrased in the tail-head linkage clause.

Figure 7 illustrates the realization of the backbone in procedural discourse. It displays only the free translation of Text P from the Appendix.

	CONDITION	STEP	EVALUATION
Topic		How to make sticky-rice	
Introduction/ step	1. The first (thing) to be done,	measure the pounded sticky-rice by the chupa and put in a basin or a small basket or a large basket.	
T.H. linkage/ step	2. When it's put in a basin,	cover completely to the brim with water.	
support by amplification of previous step	3. If the water is consumed or the sticky-rice dries,	add water again.	

Figure 7. Backbone of a procedural text (con't. next page)

	CONDITION	STEP	EVALUATION
	4.	But don't add too much water when we're soaking sticky-rice,	because it's hard to soak.
embedded explanatory procedure	5. Should it be that there's a lot of sticky-rice,	a large basket is what it should be soaked in.	
	6.	Take the sticky-rice down to the river or spring, and immerse (it) until it's covered with water.	
T.H. linkage/ step	7. When it's finished being soaked,	pound (it).	
T.H. linkage/ step	8. When it's crushed,	sift (it) or winnow (it).	
support by amplification of previous step.	9. If you like soft sticky-rice,	winnow (it).	
	10.		It won't be just once that it will be sifted.
	11.		It will be even 3 or 4 times.
T.H. linkage/ step step step	12. When it's finished being-made-into-flour,	add water and work with-(your)-hands, then wrap (it).	
support by amplification of previous step	13.		What can be used to wrap (it) is a banana leaf or takong leaf.

Figure 7. Backbone of a procedural text (con't. next page)

	CONDITION	STEP	EVALUATION
	14. When we are wrapping,	be careful	so that no people come in or out of the house because the sticky-rice will diminish (if they do).
T.H. linkage/ step	15. (When it is) finished being wrapped,	stack (it) into a pot.	
Step/purpose	16.	Stoke up the fire (cook it-implied)	so that it won't be half-cooked.
T.H. linkage/ step/purpose	17. When (it's) cooked,	remove (it) from the fire and pour cool water (on it)	so that the sticky-rice won't stick to its wrappings.
support by amplification of 'cooling' step	18. When it is a little after a while	transfer (it from the pot) and stack in a large basket, or a winnowing basket, or a small basket.	
T.H. linkage/ step	19. When cooled,	unwrap them.	
Embedded optional procedure	20. If coconut is to be put (on) or mixed (with it),	grate (it) and salt (it) then place on the sticky-rice	
T.H. linkage/ step	21. It's finished then,	and (now) eat!	

Figure 7. Backbone of a procedural text

3.3.4 Realization of the dramatic arrangement

In procedural genre, the realization of the dramatic arrangement coincides with that of the discourse-structure. One additional aspect of the dramatic arrangement is the peak of the development or procedure part of the text. This is realized by deletion of the normal cohesive device between steps in the procedure. That is, a number of steps may be encoded without the usual tail-head linkage connecting each step to the preceding one.

Example 35.

No naupal, tenòtò anat agé akyaén.
when soaked powdered then also sift

Yag penelot hen di ligaw
and mixed-with-water rel that winnow-basket

anat pàlen, yag enoppeopan ah tubun di
then shaped and wrapped rel leaf that

balat ono takong. Yag empénpén ah
banana or type-of-plant and stacked rel

banga anat danuman yag ininit, yag
pot then put-water and cooked and

enapoyan.
stoked-fire

When (it) is soaked, pound to a powder and then also sift (it). And mix it (with water) in the winnowing basket and then shape (it), and wrap (it) in banana leaves or takong leaves. And stack (it) into the pot and then put in water and cook (it), and be stoking the fire.

3.4 Cohesion in procedural

3.4.1 Prenuclear cohesives

The usual prenuclear cohesive in procedural is the tail-head linkage device. The conditional conjunction initial in the clause establishes the link with what follows, while the content of the clause is the anaphoric link to what preceded.

Example 36.

...anat abngan, (ya dinakal ya
then make-walk-way and made-big and

[illegible]ayyang ta madnéy ah maum[illegible]h). No
tall so-that long rel be-dissolved if

...and then make its walkway (and make it big and high so it will be a long time before it dissolves). When the walkway is finished,...

nalpas hen abang,...
finished rel walk-way

3.4.2 Nuclear cohesives

When a procedural schema has a compound nucleus (i.e. more than one step) these are encoded by clauses which are joined by the conjunction yag 'and', or anat 'and then' (see Example 35).

3.4.3 Postnuclear cohesives

The conjunctions which link the postnuclear 'evaluation' clause to the nucleus are te 'because' and ta 'so that' (see Figure 6). In the pure procedural, ta is used almost exclusively as the postnuclear cohesive, whereas in the explanatory and hortatory procedurals, te and ta are used with approximately equal frequency.

3.5 Person orientation and participant reference

In pure procedural, there is no overt person orientation. No pronouns are used, and there are no agents of the verbs (except in embedded paragraphs), thus no 'participant reference'. The imperative procedural is second person oriented, i.e. beamed at the hearer(s).

The explanatory procedural has a third person orientation. The agent of the verbs in this subtype is generally an impersonal and nonspecific 'they'. In the area of person orientation, this subtype resembles expository discourse.

3.6 Tense in procedural

In pure procedural texts there is a pure past tense orientation. All backbone verbs are marked for past tense, except when there are two consecutive verbs joined by the sequence conjunction anat. In this case, the verb following the anat is not marked for past tense (anat is never followed by a verb in past tense), but the past tense marking of the preceding verb establishes the tense orientation for the pair.

The explanatory procedural has a generally nonpast tense orientation, which is another similarity it has with expository genre. The imperative procedural also has nonpast tense orientation.

4. Hortatory genre (cf. Appendix, Text H)

In Forster's matrix (1977) cited in Figure 1, this genre is listed as 'behavioral'. In Forster's paper, hortatory is given as just one subtype of behavioral. Since none of the other subtypes were analyzed (although there are texts of eulogy and scolding), we refer to it as hortatory genre. It is characterized by plus agent orientation and minus chronological linkage (discourses not linked chronologically are linked logically). The backbone of a pure hortatory discourse is made up of commands.

4.1 Subtypes of hortatory genre

No distinct subtypes of hortatory have been identified. There is genre mixing and genre skewing (see Section 6), and these produce discourses which may be hortatory in intention without a series of commands making up the backbone. However, these are not separate subtypes of hortatory discourse.

4.2 Basic semantic structure of hortatory

4.2.1 Semantic discourse-structure

The discourse-structure of hortatory genre has the three constituents of advice topic, exhortation, and culmination. Advice topic is that which identifies the global theme, i.e. it establishes the general area concerning which advice or exhortation is to be given or the particular situation which prompts the giving of the advice.

Exhortation is the nuclear constituent of the discourse-structure. It consists of a series of hortatory schemata (see next section).

Culmination is the final constituent. It can be a summary statement, a recapitulation of the advice and reasons, or a final clinching argument for following the advice.

4.2.2 Semantic schema

The typical schema of hortatory genre is the semantic construction on the level just above the interpropositional level, having the three constituents of projected circumstance, command, and support by argument.[7]

The projected circumstance is a hypothetical but not improbable situation which the hearer might find himself in, and in which he would have a choice as to how he reacts or behaves.

The command is the advice of the speaker to the hearer as to how he should react or behave in the given situation or circumstance. It may also be given negatively, i.e. what he should not do in the given circumstance.

The support by argument is a vital part of a hortatory schema in Balangao. Commands are not likely to be heeded unless they are supported by some argument or reason why they should be obeyed. The argument or reason must rely on some cultural value which is widely accepted as a sound reason for doing things.

4.2.3 Backbone

The backbone in a pure hortatory discourse is made up of commands, the nuclear constituents of the hortatory schemata. The relationship between a backbone element and the projected circumstance which precedes it is a condition-consequence relationship, 'If A, then you should do B.' But the relationships between consecutive elements of the backbone in pure hortatory is limited to simple conjunction or antithesis, i.e. 'If A, then you should do B, (and/but) if C, then you should do D.' (A and C are two possible circumstances in the same general area of life, but there is no cause-effect or similar relationship between them.) This relation of conjunction or antithesis is generally not overt in the text.

4.2.4 Dramatic arrangement of hortatory

In hortatory discourse, the initial claim of significance which captures the attention of the audience is the statement of the advice topic, in such a way that the audience realizes that advice or exhortation will be forthcoming. There is a restricted number of social settings in which a pure hortatory discourse is appropriate. In general, it is the old men of the village who are held in high enough esteem and therefore are considered qualified to give a hortatory discourse. So in fact, the claim of significance is not just the statement of the topic, but also the implicit assertion, 'I have the authority to speak, therefore listen to me.'

Because of the position of authority which the speaker would normally have, he does not need to be too concerned with dramatic arrangement to guarantee audience attention. However, if he ignores it entirely, he probably will lose his audience. And his advice will certainly be more effective if he does arrange it in a way that gives maximum impact. This is done by having a real culmination of reasons or argument at or near the end of the text, a sort of punch line which underscores the exhortations still fresh in the hearers' minds.

4.3 Grammatical realizations of the semantic structure

4.3.1 Realization of the discourse-structure

The first constituent of the hortatory discourse-structure, the advice topic, is usually realized by the first clause of the text. This is usually a fronted sentence topic in the form of a vocative, addressing the person or group to whom the exhortation is to be given. The advice topic is usually implicit in this first clause. If the clause is 'You children who are going to school now', the advice topic is 'how to behave at school'. In Text H of the Appendix, the initial sentence topic is Ditay nabugi, 'we pregnant (ones)', and the implied advice topic is 'How to behave/act during pregnancy'.

The second constituent of the discourse-structure is the exhortation, and this is made up of the hortatory schemata (see next section).

The culmination is the final support by argument of the text, which normally relies on some strong cultural value. It is realized by the final clause of the text, or by the final sentence, or the final two sentences (as in Text H, Appendix). It is likely that a whole final paragraph could realize this constituent. In the case of Text H, the final two sentences cite arguments supporting the commands of the final paragraph of the text. They do not directly support all the commands of the whole text. Some of the texts in the corpus examined, which were hortatory in purpose but mixed in surface structure, ended with a cleft sentence which was a culminatory support to the whole exhortation, such as 'that is why we should...'

4.3.2 Realization of the schemata

Hortatory discourse is developed by hortatory schemata, the constituents of which are projected circumstance, command, and support by argument. One schema is often realized by one complex sentence.

The projected circumstance is realized by a conditional clause initial in the sentence (see line 1 of Figure 8).

The command is realized by the independent, nuclear clause of the sentence.

Example 37. (Text H, sentence 1)

...adita ammag manngengesset. ...let's not always be
neg-we(du) utterly grumbling grumbling.

The support by argument is realized by the final dependent clause of the sentence. These are almost always introduced by the conjunction te 'because' and occasionally by ta 'so that', which encode the relationships of reason or result, the relationship the final constituent has to the nucleus of the schema. The realization of a whole schema is displayed in Figure 8.

Hortatory schema

Projected circumstance

No waday da lagadengén ah heno way	If there is a craving
if there is craving rel what rel	for any kind of food or
	viand,
ma-an ono missa,	
food or viand	

Command

adi da baalén hen ahawa,	don't send (your)
neg is send rel husband	husband (to go get it),

Support by argument

te dual hen da inummat wat	because many have done
because many rel is like-that rel	that, reulting in many
	of those falling down
dumaddama danhha ah témédég ya témégtég.	and being injured.
many those rel fall-down and smash	

Figure 8. Realization of a hortatory schema (Text H, sentence 7)

4.3.3 Realization of the backbone

The backbone of hortatory is made up of the commands, and these are realized by the independent clauses of the text. These commands ('imperatives') either contain a verb preceded by masapol 'must' or the negative particle adi, or else may be encoded by a nonverbal sentence with the negative particle baén (see Text H, sentence 2). All dependent clauses and any independent clauses without an overt or implied imperative are off the backbone. Another signal of material off the backbone is a change in pronoun usage, from second to third or first person.

4.3.4 Realization of the peak

In most clauses of a hortatory text, the dual pronoun *ta* 'me and you' is suffixed to the imperative verb and is the agent of that action.[8] But in the peak of the text (the most important part), agent pronouns are deleted from imperative verbs (see Text H, sentences 7-9).

4.4 Cohesion in hortatory

4.4.1 Prenuclear cohesives

Clauses which may precede nuclear (independent) clauses in a sentence are those which encode a projected circumstance. These clauses are introduced by the conditional conjunction *no* 'if'. When such clauses also mark the beginning of a paragraph, they are existential clauses, beginning with either *no* *wada...* 'if there is...', or with *no* *maid...* 'if there is no...'.

The conditional conjunction itself signals the condition-consequence relation that this proposition has with the nuclear one which follows. To encode the semantic relationship between the two clauses is to link them together and to achieve cohesion between them.

4.4.2 Nuclear cohesives

Nuclear cohesives are almost nonexistent in hortatory discourse. Commands are not strung together in the way that events or steps are strung in narrative and procedural genre, therefore there is no need for a device to establish cohesion between consecutive nuclear clauses.

One cohesive device which sometimes introduces the nuclear clause and relates it to the projected circumstance is the word *masapol* 'it's necessary'. This achieves cohesion between the projected circumstance and the command, e.g. 'If A, it's necessary to do B.'

Example 38.

Ad uwan, te antoy ommahawa-ayu,
rel now because this married-you

masapol way ilan hen ekat hen antoday tapena
must rel see rel say rel these other

way matagu.
rel live

Now, because you are married, (you) must see/notice the way these others live.

4.4.3 Postnuclear cohesives

The cohesives which link postnuclear to nuclear clauses are te 'because' and occasionally ta 'so that', the same ones that are used as postnuclear cohesives in narrative and procedural. However, in those two genre they are very infrequent, whereas in hortatory they occur in almost every sentence.

4.5 Person orientation and participant reference

Hortatory discourse is oriented to second person. It is beamed at the hearer(s). But in most hortatory texts, the pure second person pronoun is not used. The pronoun most frequently used in hortatory is the dual pronoun ta 'me and you'. This is used when the exhortation is not directed at a specific person or problem. But when there is a real problem which the discourse addresses, the plural counterpart of the dual pronoun is used, taaw 'us and you pl.'. When the exhortation is very specific, directed at a particular person with a particular problem the second person pronouns are used, no 'you sg.' and yu 'you pl.'.

Provided that they obey the commands, the persons to whom the discourse is directed will be the agents of the actions commanded, so they are the participants referred to by the pronouns described above.

4.6 Tense in hortatory

All the verbs in hortatory discourse are in nonpast tense. If past tense verbs are found, it is an evidence that the text is of mixed genre or that there is embedding.

5. Expository genre (cf. Appendix, Texts E1 and E2)

Expository genre is characterized by minus agent orientation and minus chronological linkage. The propositions which develop this discourse type are related to each other logically rather than chronologically. A characteristic unique to expository genre is long sentences. Clauses are strung together seemingly ad infinitum, each one related logically to the previous clause or larger section. Some expository texts seem like one long sentence.

5.1 Subtypes of expository

No subtypes of expository have been identified. However, expository is used to accomplish different intentions, as will be discussed in Section 6. Some expository discourse is descriptive and some is argumentative, but no clear distinctions have been found in surface structure, therefore we do not treat them as two subtypes.

5.2 Basic semantic structure of expository

5.2.1 Semantic discourse-structure

The discourse-structure of expository genre has the constituents of topic, exposition, and conclusion.

The topic identifies the global theme of the discourse, the thesis to be proved or the subject to be described or elaborated on.

The exposition is the development of the topic. It consists of arguments in support of the topic or descriptive statements about it.

The conclusion relates the topic and exposition by summing up or by asserting that the exposition supports or proves the stated topic or thesis.

5.2.2 Semantic schema

The typical schema of expository genre has the constituents of thesis, points, and summation.

The thesis is one topic or subtopic in the area defined by the discourse topic or global theme.

The points are the descriptive statements about or arguments in support of the thesis.

The summation is a summary or 'nutshell' statement of the points or a synthesis or conclusion drawn from the points. Particularly in expository genre, the three schema constituents are seen to have almost exactly the same semantic relationship to each other as the three discourse-structure constituents do. In this genre, the difference is one of domain more than a difference in kind. The discourse-structure is an abstract of the semantic structure of the whole text, whereas more than one semantic schema can be identified within that same text.

5.2.3 Backbone

Identifying the backbone of expository genre was one of the harder problems encountered in this analysis. In the other genre, the propositions which were nuclear in the schemata formed the backbone of the genre. These were also the propositions with a high and uniform degree of thematicity in the texts. They were not semantically subordinated and were usually realized by the independent clauses of the texts.

The problem of identifying backbone in expository is not a problem of identifying the degrees of thematicity (Jones 1977:chapters 5-7). There is a complex but regular system of marking the degrees of thematicity. The problem is in deciding how low a degree of thematicity a proposition may have and still be considered backbone. In the other genre, the backbone propositions were of the primary degree of thematicity (or secondary, if the global theme is considered the primary degree). But if we restrict backbone in expository to those propositions with primary degree thematicity, there would only be about three backbone propositions per text, no matter how long the text. This is so because of the unique semantic structure of expository, in which clauses are continually subordinated to preceding clauses, therefore of progressively lower degrees of thematicity.[9]

It is counterintuitive to restrict the backbone to three or four propositions of primary degree thematicity in a text which encodes 50 to 100 propositions.

These propositions of primary thematicity in an expository text are the 'theses' of the expository schemata. The points of these schemata are subordinated to the theses, and some points are subordinated to other points, resulting in several degrees of thematicity. As Jones' work makes clear, the thesis of an expository schema is more thematic than the points supporting it (Jones 1977:144-52). But we are uncomfortable about restricting the backbone to the thesis propositions, in spite of their primary degree of thematicity.

Joseph Grimes wrote that 'in nonsequential texts, explanatory information itself forms the backbone of the text...' (Grimes 1975:56). Along the same line, Kilham wrote that 'explanations are the central part of expository texts, and events for these texts are background information,' contrasting expository with narrative (Kilham 1977:97). These authors recognized the centrality of the explanatory points in expository genre.

On the other hand, if we make the 'points' of our expository schemata the backbone of this genre, we encounter the problem of having the theses, propositions of higher thematicity, off the backbone and therefore background.[10]

But if we consider the backbone to be made up of the theses, we then encounter the problem of a backbone which may be made up of less than ten percent of the total propositions of the text. This is untenable, since backbone is by definition the central developmental thread of the discourse (Section 2.2.3).

Therefore we conclude that for expository genre, the backbone is made up of the theses and the points of the expository schemata. This makes expository genre unique in that there are propositions on the backbone of varying degrees of thematicity. But these multiple degrees and the complexity of semantic/logical relations between propositions is what really sets expository discourse apart in any case.

Off the backbone propositions are then quite rare in expository. They are mostly 'asides', comments about things or propositions mentioned in the text, and not related to the development of the global theme. The summation of expository schemata would also be backbone, since it paraphrases or draws conclusions from the theses and points.

5.2.4 Dramatic arrangement of expository

There is identifiable dramatic arrangement in expository discourse. The initial statement of the global theme is the claim of significance, intended to get the attention of the audience. This is followed by a sort of setting for the exposition, which is a statement or description of how things used to be. For example, in a text explaining why Balangaos prefer galvanized iron roofs, the part of the exposition immediately following the statement of the global theme is a description of the way things were before there were any GI roofs. This description of how things used to be foreshadows the arguments in favor of GI roofs. Later in the text, comparisons will be made to show the advantages of the GI roofs over the old style grass roofs. But none of these comparisons are made until the setting or backdrop has been described.

Following this setting section, which is often the first third of the text, the exposition abruptly switches to the way things are now or, in an argumentative text, the way things should be now. Descriptions are made more vivid by comparing the new with the old. Arguments are made more forceful by pointing out advantages of the new and disadvantages of the old. This section may be viewed as the buildup of the text.

The buildup is immediately followed by a climax, a high point of the description or argument. This is usually a 'nutshell' resume of what has come before, a condensed version of the points, which now has considerable force. In an effective discourse, this will really prove the significance of the text.

Finally there is a short section which concludes the text and asserts or implies that the topic has been described or the main point proven. It ends the speaker's claim to the attention of the audience.

The elements of the dramatic arrangement in expository are topic, setting, buildup, climax, and conclusion.

5.3 Grammatical realizations of the semantic structure

5.3.1 Realization of the discourse-structure

The topic of the exposition is realized either by a title or by the first sentence of the text. If it is a title (typical of written texts) it will be in the form of a noun phrase which is a nominalized verbal clause, such as 'The liking of the Balangaos for galvanized iron roofs' (i.e. Why Balangaos like GI roofs). Text E1 has this sort of realization of the topic. If the topic is realized by the first sentence of an expository text, it will be a cleft sentence encoding the topic, such as 'This is what I say to you about...'. This sentence establishes a speaker-hearer relationship as well as announcing the topic, which is the global theme of the text (see Text E2, sentence 1).

The second constituent of the discourse-structure is the exposition, which is made up of the expository schemata (Section 5.3.2).

The final constituent is the conclusion, which is a cleft sentence such as 'therefore, this is why the Balangaos like GI roofs.' This final sentence may be strung out with a few dependent clauses added on to the end, recapitulating in brief some of the reasons cited in the exposition. The conclusion always begins with the word isonga 'therefore', and this conjunction functions at a high level in discourse. It always relates the following conclusion to the whole section or text that has gone before. It is rarely used more than once per expository text. When there are propositions functioning as conclusion within the exposition part of the text, they are related to their grounds proposition(s) by the conjunction wat 'therefore'. Wat and isonga signal the same semantic relationship of grounds-conclusion, but their distribution in discourse is different. Wat is a sentence level conjunction, whereas isonga signals the same logical relationship on the text level.

5.3.2 Realization of the schemata

The whole expository schema is often realized by a long complex sentence, and often by a paragraph consisting of no more than one sentence. In the expository text in the Appendix, sentences are written and numbered more as an orthographic convenience than as a definite statement regarding the sentence boundaries. Many of these numbered 'sentences' are grammatically dependent and therefore not real grammatical sentences. Any 'sentence' in the Appendix which begins with the conjunction te 'because' or any other conjunction which signals dependency can be considered a part of the same grammatical sentence that the preceding clause is a part of.

The most common domain of an expository schema is a grammatical paragraph. The orthographic paragraphs in the Appendix correspond to the actual grammatical paragraphs of this genre.

The topic of a semantic schema is realized by the first sentence, if the schema is realized by more than one sentence, or by the first independent clause of the first sentence.

The points of an expository schema are realized by all clauses following the topic clause or sentence and preceding the summation clause(s) or sentence. The points are realized by clauses introduced by the conjunctions te 'because' or yag 'and' (which are not distributed randomly, see Section 5.4), or by no conjunction. It is rare to have no conjunction, and this would be at a sentence boundary within the realization of the points.

The summation is realized by the final clause or clauses of the schema, and these are introduced by the conjunction wat (the sentence level 'therefore').

Although it is the norm, it is not a hard and fast rule that all the te and yag clauses will precede the wat clause or clauses in an expository paragraph. Instances have been observed of wat clauses medial in a paragraph. But in spite of the departure from the normal linear ordering in the surface structure, the wat clauses still encode the summation constituent of the schema, and the te and yag clauses encode points.

5.3.3 Realization of the backbone

An expository discourse is 'bracketed' by its topic and its conclusion. Mediating between the two is the exposition, which develops the topic. The main part of this exposition is the backbone, the central developmental thread of the text. In expository discourse, all the clauses between the statement of topic and conclusion realize the backbone, except for clauses which obviously encode asides or background information not related to the topic development. Such background clauses are not introduced by the typical logical conjunctions. All te, yag, and wat clauses are backbone, along with the clauses they support.

5.3.4 Realization of the dramatic arrangement

The dramatic arrangement of expository has the elements of topic, setting, buildup, climax, and conclusion. Each has a separate grammatical realization.

The realization of the topic in the dramatic arrangement is the same as that of the discourse-structure (Section 5.3.1). It is realized either by a title or by the first sentence of the text.

The realization of the setting is the first paragraph of the text or the remainder of the paragraph in which the topic is introduced. An example of a paragraph realizing the setting is found in the Appendix, Text E1, sentences 1-6. This paragraph encodes the backdrop about the former religious beliefs of the Balangaos and sets the stage for the discussion of their present belief. Another expository text has a setting paragraph which begins 'What Balangaos used to do was to roof their houses with grass', and the paragraph goes on to describe this former custom. This provides the setting for the discussion of the present custom of using GI roofing. In still another text, the setting is realized by a paragraph about how there used to be unity, and this sets the stage for the discussion of the present lack of unity.

The buildup element follows the setting. This is realized by the second paragraph of the expository text in most cases. It is readily recognized, because it almost always begins with a discourse level conjunction *ngém* 'but'. After the setting or backdrop has been given, with which to compare or contrast what follows, the conjunction *ngém* marks the beginning of a new paragraph and the beginning of the buildup (Text E1, sentences 7-9).

The use of *ngém* to mark the beginning of the buildup section contrasts with its occasional use as a sentence level cohesive (e.g. Text E1, sentence 2). When it is used as a discourse level cohesive, it is in conjunction with another grammatical device which marks a high degree of thematicity. In Text E1, sentence 7, the conjunction *ngém* is followed by the emphatic particle *angkay*. Furthermore, the phrase in which it occurs is *ngém angkay hen-algawan*, 'but if-you-please one day', which is much more elaborate than any simple interclausal cohesive. It marks a much more significant boundary, that of paragraph, and also of the beginning of the buildup. The other discourse level use of *ngém* in the Appendix is found in Text E2, sentence 17. This time the conjunction is followed by a fronted sentence topic (termed 'topicalization' by Jones 1977:177), another grammatical device for marking a high degree of thematicity.

Following the buildup of expository is the climax. This section is marked by the use of grammatical devices which signal a higher degree of thematicity than what has gone before. In a short, simple text, the *wat* clauses may mark the climactic section (Text E1, sentences 10-11). However, in a more complex text in which *wat* clauses have been used in preceding sections, the speaker resorts to grammatical devices which mark still higher degrees of thematicity. In the climactic section of Text E2 (sentences 24-30) there is a proliferation of cleft constructions, some preceded by the conjunction *yag*, and the last sentence of the section is a rhetorical question, which according to Jones (1977:177) marks the highest degree or rank of thematicity.

The final element of the dramatic arrangement is the conclusion, realized by the final paragraph of the text. It is always introduced by the discourse level conjunction *isonga* 'therefore', the use of which in Balangao is almost entirely restricted to marking the conclusion of an expository text. In Text E1, the conclusion, in sentence 12, is a cleft construction introduced by *isonga*. In Text E2, the conclusion is sentences 31-34, again introduced by the conjunction *isonga* and including a *wat* clause, a cleft construction, and a rhetorical question.

Figure 9 is a display of the dramatic arrangement of Text E2 in the Appendix. As well as displaying the dramatic arrangement of the text, it displays a complex chiastic structure, which goes hand in hand with the dramatic arrangement and reinforces it. This chiastic structure is not found in every expository text, but there is reason to believe that it adds to the effectiveness of an expository text, because the speaker of this text is known in his home town as a good public speaker.

The chiastic structure begins with the first sentence and ends with the thirtieth, just before the conclusion. The structure can be thought of as a parabola, the zenith or acme of which is the most generic theme of the text, the global theme or discourse topic. This topic is introduced in sentences 1-5 (especially sentence 1) and returned to in sentences 26-30 (especially sentence 26). Progress down the parabola is movement away from the most generic theme toward the most specific. The nadir is reached in sentences 21 and 22, in which a specific example is posited. Following that, all the main points which preceded the nadir are recited (paraphrased) in reverse order, until the discourse returns to the zenith, the global theme, in sentence 26.

In Figure 9, for convenience of layout, the parabola is turned on its side, so its zenith is farthest to the left and its nadir farthest to the right.

5.4 Cohesion in expository

As was pointed out in the sections on discourse-structure and on dramatic arrangement, there are cohesives which are used at paragraph boundaries. A typical expository text in Balangao is made up of three paragraphs. This is not to say that there is a standard length of expository text, but just that the texts are normally encoded by three grammatical paragraphs, no matter how long or short. The first paragraph of a text has no cohesive introducing it. The statement of the topic begins the paragraph. The second paragraph usually begins with the conjunction ngém 'but', and the statements or arguments of the paragraph tend to contrast with the 'backdrop' of the first paragraph. The final paragraph of an expository text begins with the conjunction isonga 'therefore' (cf. Section 5.3.1).

There are three lower level conjunctions used in expository discourse, one of which introduces almost every clause of a text. As well as these three, there are a few others which are only rarely used. The three conjunctions used regularly are te 'because', yag 'and', and wat 'therefore'. Not only do these three conjunctions encode different interpropositional relations, but they also signal the degree of thematicity of the clause they introduce relative to the preceding clause or larger section. The conjunction te signals a step down in thematicity. It is one step lower than the immediately preceding clause. The conjunction yag signals the same degree of thematicity as the preceding clause, and

Dramatic arrangement	Chiastic structure
Topic (s.1-5)	Unity (s.1, also 2-5)
Setting (s.6-16)	. What God wants is written down (s.6,7)
	. . Members of God's family are brothers; therefore, . . . how should they behave to each other? (s.8-16)
Buildup (s.17-23)	. . . Love each other (s.17-19)
	. . . . Brother example begins (s.20)
	. . . . . Pitiful situation (s.21)
	. . . . . Response to situation (s.22)
	. . . . Brother example concludes (s.23)
Climax (s.24-30)	. . . Love each other (s.24)
	. . How brothers should behave to each other (s.25)
	. This is what God wants (s.25)
	Unity (s.26, also 27-30)
Conclusion (s.31-34)	Recapitulation of global theme, unity

Figure 9. Dramatic arrangement and chiastic structure of Text E2

also means that the clause it introduces has the same relationship to other clauses or parts of the discourse as did the immediately preceding clause. To use Beekman and Callow's term (1974:292), *yag* signals 'matched support'. The two conjoined propositions are semantically equal and in the same relationship to some other proposition(s). Finally, the conjunction *wat* signals a step up in thematicity. This conjunction is of the sort that Jones (1977:209) has called 'summary conjunctions', and she says that these conjunctions 'are perhaps the most obviously thematic at a high level'. As mentioned earlier, there is another summary conjunction, *isonga*, which functions at a much higher level than does *wat*, but *wat* does signal a rise in thematicity of one degree over the preceding clause.

The use of these three conjunctions in signalling degrees of thematicity can be seen clearly in the section of Text E2 beginning with sentence 5 and going through sentence 15. In this section, four degrees of thematicity can be observed, and these, along with the conjunctions that mark them, are displayed in Figure 10. The primary theme of this section is unity, mentioned in sentence 5 (the conjunction *yag* at the beginning of sentence 5 has no bearing on the degrees of thematicity within the section). Sentences 6 and 7a are introduced by the rarely used conjunction *gapo ta* 'since'. They are of secondary degree thematicity. The tertiary theme is 'children of God', introduced by the conjunction *te* in sentence 7b, and continued by the *yag* which begins sentence 8. The quaternary theme is 'adoption', introduced by the *te* at the beginning of sentence 10, and continued by the *yag* of sentence 12. (There are two *wat* conjunctions, in sentence 8 and sentence 12, but these are embedded within quoted material, and are not part of the thematic structure of this section.) The conjunction *wat* beginning sentence 13 marks a return to the tertiary theme, and this clause functions as summary of the section which began when the tertiary theme was introduced (sentence 7b). The *wat* which begins sentence 14 marks the return to the secondary degree of thematicity and functions as summary of the section which began with sentence 6. Finally, the *wat* which begins sentence 15 marks the return to the primary theme of this section of the text. The sentence itself is a rhetorical question, which Jones (1977:177) has listed as the grammatical device used to mark the highest degree of thematicity. The question is 'What then should we do?' The function of a rhetorical question is to assert, and the implicit assertion of this sentence is that we should have unity (the primary theme).

Conjunction	Thematicity
Unity (s.5)	primary
gapo ta... (s.6,7a)	secondary
te... yag... (s.7b-9)	tertiary
te... yag... (s.10-12)	quaternary
wat... (s.13)	tertiary
wat... (s.14)	secondary
wat... (s.15)	primary

Figure 10. Conjunctions signalling degrees of thematicity in Text E2

5.5 Person orientation and participant reference

Expository discourse is third person oriented. It may make use of first person if the speaker is involved in the topic of the exposition. Participants are limited to the agents of the verbs, and these are very few because expository discourse is made up almost entirely of nonverbal clauses. The agents in nominalized clauses are realized by the genitive construction, as in hen ommabulotan hen Ibalangao, 'the believing of the Balangaos'.

5.6 Tense in expository

Nonpast tense is used exclusively in expository. Any use of past tense would be in embedded sections of another genre.

6. Thematic organization of discourse

6.1 Relationships between theme and semantic structure

This section specifies the relationships between speech act, global theme, discourse-structure, schemata, backbone, and plot or dramatic arrangement. All of these terms have been used by other authors, and we have tried not to stray away from the 'standard usage', although some of the terms such as schema, are so new that they have no standard usage. While this is certainly not the last word on these terms and the structures they refer to, we do feel that it is a step forward in defining them and their relationships to each other. These structures, and to some extent, the relationships between them, are displayed in Figure 11. We do not assert that these are the only structures that could fill the boxes of this matrix (Figure 11), but they are the ones most typical of each genre, and they do account for most of the data that we have examined.

A good starting point in considering discourse is the illocutionary speech act, i.e. the intention or motive of the speaker in saying what he does; what is he trying to accomplish by it? The first column in Figure 11 lists the basic intentions which most often underlie the respective discourse genre (e.g. a hortatory discourse is usually prompted by the intention or desire of the speaker to effect some change in behavior of his listeners or to get them to behave in a certain way). However, as Austin Hale has pointed out (personal communication), there is almost always a mix of intentions and motives. A speaker often is trying to impress others with his knowledge to trick, or to intimidate.

Even when motives are mixed, though, the aims listed in the first column of Figure 11 will make up a part, and usually the major part, of the illocutionary speech act of the corresponding discourse genre.

Once a person formulates in his mind a particular intention or aim which he hopes to achieve by saying something, he can then begin to formulate in his mind a discourse (anything from a word to a long monologue), selecting the major genre which he thinks is best suited to accomplish his intention.

	Illocutionary speech act	Global theme (disc.topic)	Discourse-structure	Schemata (typical)	Backbone (theme-line)
Narrative	amuse, inform	complication-situation	complication-situation, narration, resolution	orientation, event, evaluation	(main)event (propositions)
Procedural	inform, instruct	goal	goal, procedure, accomplishment	condition, step, evaluation	steps
Hortatory	effect change, persuade to change or behave in a certain way	advice topic	advice topic, exhortation, culmination	projected circumstance, command, support by argument	commands
Expository	explain, prove, persuade	topic	topic, exposition, conclusion	thesis, points, summation	theses and all supporting points

Figure 11. Thematic and semantic organization of Balangao discourse

Almost logically simultaneous with formulating a motive or intention is deciding on a global theme. The term 'global theme' has been used by Kilham (1977) and by Kroeker (in Grimes 1975:363) to refer to the main idea, what the discourse is all about (Hollenbach, 1975, calls this the 'discourse topic'). The main kinds of global themes are complication-situations, goals to be accomplished, topics for advice or exhortation, and topics for exposition (description or argumentation).

Complication-situations tend to be more complex or elaborate than the others, because they include the introduction of the major participants of a narrative, usually some orientation as to time and place of the story, and the particular fact or happening (inciting moment) which makes the story worth telling. But this much information is that which is developed by the narration, and so it is the global theme of the narrative discourse.

The need for discussion of a certain topic may in fact be the stimulus which prompts the speaker to formulate his illocutionary intention. Alternatively, the motive or intention may prompt the selection of a topic. The combination of intention plus topic probably narrows the possibilities of discourse genre which may be used to just one genre, although the social setting may force some intentional skewing (see 6.2).

Once a person has decided to speak and knows what he wants to say, he selects the appropriate genre. Each genre has its own characteristic semantic discourse structure (a notion somewhat akin to what van Dijk, 1972, 1977, refers to as macro-structure). Discourse-structure is the semantic construction realized by a whole monologue discourse, just as proposition is the semantic construction normally realized by a single grammatical clause. A very abstract formula for all monologue discourse is:

Discourse = Topic +Development +Conclusion

But each discourse genre has its own characteristic semantic constituents, as displayed in the third column of Figure 11.

The initial constituent of each discourse-structure is the global theme of the discourse. This is followed by the development of the global theme, a different kind of development depending on the discourse genre. This central constituent of each discourse-structure consists of constructions of the next lower level of the semantic hierarchy, that of the semantic schemata. If there is a semantic grouping of schemata within the development of a single discourse, an additional level of the semantic hierarchy needs to be recognized, such as the semantic level 'section' in Beekman and Callow (1974).

The final constituent of the discourse-structure of a text is the conclusion. The whole discourse-structure is designed to accomplish the intended speech act. The initial topic statement is designed to get the attention of the hearers. The development is to maintain tension or interest. And the conclusion releases the audience.

A speaker may plan a whole discourse-structure in his mind before beginning, if it is not too complex and if time permits. Or he may simply utter the global theme and construct the rest of the discourse as he goes along, just as one often begins a sentence without having planned how to end it. In either case the discourse level grammatical rules, some of which are described in Sections 2-3 and displayed in Figure 11, will govern how the discourse will be put together.

Discourse-structure is related to schemata in this way: the central constituent of the discourse-structure, the development, is comprised of one or more schemata. The schemata will be those of the relevant genre, but there may be schemata embedded within schemata and these may be of the same or of a different genre. The topic and conclusion constituents of any discourse-structure may also be comprised of a schema, (often not the typical schema of that genre), or they may be part of a schema that extends into the development constituent of the discourse-structure.

The backbone in any discourse genre is related to the discourse-structure and the schemata in this way: it is the central developmental thread which mediates between the topic and conclusion of the discourse-structure, and it consists of the nuclear constituents of the schemata of that text.

The dramatic arrangement of a discourse is really integrated with the speech act. In monologue discourse it begins with something to get the attention or interest of the audience. The arrangement then tries to assure that the interest is maintained throughout until the conclusion, when the attention of the audience is released. The more well-formed the dramatic arrangement is, the more effective and more likely to succeed the speech act will be.

Here is a brief summary of the relationships between structures displayed in Figure 11.

The illocutionary speech act leads to selection of a particular genre.

Each genre has its own kind of global theme or discourse topic. A theme of the appropriate sort will begin the discourse.

The global theme is the first constituent of the semantic discourse-structure, the semantic abstract of the whole discourse. The central constituent of the discourse-structure is the development, which consists of the semantic schemata of the particular genre.

The semantic schemata are the constructions just above the level of interpropositional constructions. The development of a discourse consists of schemata characteristic of the genre.

The backbone of a discourse is the central developmental thread, which develops the global theme. This central thread consists of the semantically nuclear (most thematic) constituents of the schemata of that genre. The backbone is the main thread which connects the initial statement of the global theme with the conclusion of the discourse.

The semantic constructions of discourse-structure and schema, already defined, are related to the other levels of the semantic hierarchy in Figure 12. The name of each level and the constructions of that level are the same. An arrow is drawn to the level(s) of the grammatical hierarchy which is the usual realization of the semantic construction.

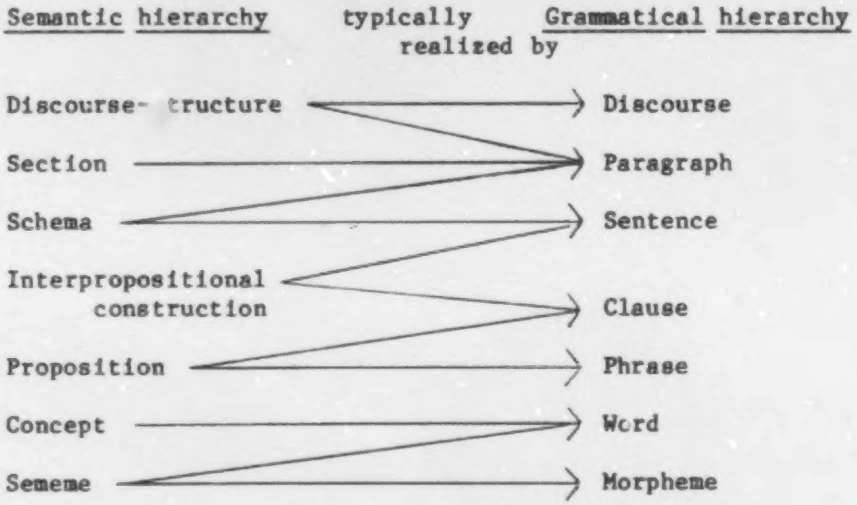

Figure 12. Levels of semantic and grammatical hierarchies

6.2 Skewing between illocutionary act and discourse genre

In the first column of Figure 11, the intentions typically realized by the respective discourse genre are listed. However, there can be intentional skewing, sometimes required by the social setting, which results in a speaker's intention being 'disguised' in a genre other than that which would normally realize the intention. For example, in Balangao the use of narrative genre frequently encodes the intentions normally associated with procedural, hortatory, or expository discourse. As described in Section 3, procedural genre is often used with hortatory or expository intentions, but in this case there are some surface features which distinguish such usages as subtypes of procedural genre, the imperative and explanatory subtypes, respectively.

The most noticeable skewing in Balangao is that of encoding a hortatory intention with an expository discourse. There are many instances when a person desires to say something with the intention of effecting a change in behavior, but the social setting makes it inappropriate for him to use the hortatory genre (i.e. he does not have the social status which entitles him to exhort others). So he disguises his hortatory intention by using expository discourse. We call this a rhetorical exposition. Just as a rhetorical question is actually an assertion with question surface structure, so a rhetorical exposition is actually an exhortation with expository surface structure. In the case of either the rhetorical question or the rhetorical exposition, the real purpose, assertion or exhortation, is better achieved by the use of the rhetorical form. An assertion is made stronger by the use of a rhetorical question, and an exhortation from a young person to an older person has a much greater chance of being effective if it is given as a rhetorical exposition. A young person of the Balangao speech community has virtually no chance of being heeded if he utters a pure hortatory discourse. The more socially subordinate he is to his hearers, the less appropriate a pure hortatory discourse would be. If he is addressing his peers, he still needs to use the rhetorical exposition. What the speaker intends as commands, he veils as the theses or points of expository discourse, and these are followed by far more supporting reasons or arguments than would follow a command in pure hortatory discourse.

The rhetorical exposition may also be used by a person whose social status would entitle him to use the pure hortatory genre, especially if he is speaking about a real problem to a person involved in the problem. The exhortation is thus softened or disguised, and keeps the hearer from losing face, but is still likely to produce the desired result.

Text E2 of the Appendix is a rhetorical exposition, and thus may be classified as an expository text, but the speaker's intention was really hortatory in nature. The one surface feature which does set it apart and gives a clue as to the speaker's intention is the use of the dual pronouns (which include first and second person) rather than the usual third person pronouns of expository genre.

7. Conclusion

This 'broad spectrum' approach to analysis of discourse in Balangao has accomplished several things. Four major discourse genre have been identified and described. Subtypes of narrative and procedural genre have also been described. No subtypes of hortatory and expository genre were identified, but Section 6 describes the skewing that sometimes occurs between the two because of social factors.

For each of the four major discourse genre the semantic, thematic, and dramatic structures were identified. The semantic structures analyzed in this paper were the discourse-structures and schemata. Interpropositional constructions and semantic propositions were not treated, because they are the semantic counterparts of lower level grammar (sentence and clause) The thematic organization or structure of each genre was analyzed, and for each a global theme and line was posited. Each genre was also shown to have its own dramatic arrangement, plot in the case of narrative genre, and a plot-like arrangement in other genre.

For each genre there was also a section dealing with the grammatical realizations of the semantic, thematic, and dramatic structures. There is much analysis still to be done of the grammatical realizations and the structures which they realize, but the ones described in the preceding sections are the most common and account for almost all the data that was examined.

Features of cohesion, person orientation, participant reference, and tense were also discussed. These were found to be predictable in most cases on the basis of discourse genre or position in the discourse.

Finally, Section 6 summed up the primary contribution of this paper by showing the relationships between the semantic, thematic, and grammatical structures of discourse in Balangao. It also discussed how the social setting of a discourse may result in skewing between the illocutionary act of the speaker and the discourse genre.

NOTES

[1] Balangao is spoken by approximately 6,000 people living mainly in the Natunin Municipality situated in the eastern part of Mt. Province, northern Luzon, Philippines.

Materials used in this paper were collected by the first author between 1962 and 1978 while periodically in residence in Butac Barrio of Natunin under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Her analysis of Balangao Discourse was done at a workshop held in Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, in August and September, 1978, under the leadership of the second author, Michael Walrod. (See Shetler 1976 for lower level analysis of Balangao.)

Very special recognition is due Doming Lucasi, a beginning student in linguistics, who is also a skilled orator in Balangao and whose assistance throughout the workshop was invaluable. He did much of the sorting and displaying of data, and he also produced some of the texts analyzed (Text E1, E2). He thoroughly enjoyed the research and discoveries made in his own language.

[2] Backbone is the term used by Grimes (1975:56) to refer to the central thread of the discourse. Other terms sometimes used, which we consider synonymous, are 'theme-line' (Callow 1974:53), 'developmental propositions' (Beekman and Callow 1974:275) and 'theme' (Jones 1977:1, and Hollenbach 1975:2).

[3] Our semantic discourse-structures are characteristic of the norm for a given genre. In any of the genre, there are some texts which deviate from the norm. It should be possible, once one has satisfactorily described the norm, to assert that texts which deviate from the norm are put together ungrammatically. However, at our present stage of research, we do not view our analysis of the discourse grammar of Balangao as final or even near-final. Therefore we would not feel confident in asserting that any text was ungrammatical because it does not fit the semantic discourse-structure we have posited.

[4] We do not adhere to a narrow definition of event, e.g. one which would disqualify verbs of psychological process such as see and hear. Event versus non-event is a useful distinction of kinds of information in discourse (Grimes 1975: ch.3,4), but event does not necessarily refer to actual overt events. Thus, 'feel', 'see', or 'hear' could be events which make up part of the backbone of narrative, just as the verbs 'look', 'listen', 'run', or 'shout' could be. It happens that in English we have pairs such as 'see' and 'look', but there is no corresponding distinction in Balangao and some neighboring languages.

[5] This terminology, 'semantic construction' and 'grammatical realization', is that of a stratificational model of linguistics. Most of the stratificational concepts used here are from Ilah Fleming's classroom syllabus (1977).

[6] The idea of the three-column display is from 'Field Analysis of Discourse', Longacre and Levinsohn (1977). There is no fixed set of criteria for determining which clauses should go in which columns, but as one uses the method, patterns begin to emerge which help one to decide, and sometimes to go back and correct previous decisions. A general rule of thumb which serves well is that independent clauses go in the nuclear column, and dependent clauses go in the first and third columns, depending on whether they precede or follow the independent clause(s) of the sentence.

[7] This three-part hortatory schema is similar to the 'hortatory point' posited by Brichoux and Hale (1977) for Subanun, a language in the southern Philippines. The notional constituents of their hortatory point are hortatory motivation, conflict situation, and command element.

[8] This agent pronoun is not the grammatical subject of the clause. The imperative verbs are inflected with the 'goal-focus' affix, which means that the person or thing which is the semantic goal of the action is thematic in the clause and will be realized in the grammatical subject position. The agent pronoun, then, is a subject chomeur, to use the term

from relational grammar. Another characteristic frequently found in the peak is repetition of the most important command(s).

[9] In a Beekman and Callow type of propositional display (Beekman and Callow 1974:342), these clauses would be indented further and further to the right, with only two or three clauses in the text returning to the far left margin.

[10] We are not suggesting that Grimes and Kilham hold this view. They were not talking about 'points' in contrast with 'theses' as we are here. The backbone/background dichotomy is described in Walrod (1977:68-9).

APPENDIX

Five texts are included in the Appendix. Each text has an interlinear word for word translation with a free translation following, numbered according to the sentence numbers of the text.

The texts are coded as follows: N (Narrative Text), P (Procedural Text), H (Hortatory Text), E1 (Expository Text No.1), and E2 (Expository Text No.2).

Abbreviations used in Appendix:

adj	adjunct
coh	cohesive
du	dual
neg	negative
pl	plural
qu	question
rel	relator
rep	reportedly
rh	rhetorical question
sig	signal

Text N Narrative of Tekla's Ancestors

1. Ad namenghan ano, ad Dangtalan ano
rel long-ago rep rel Dangtalan rep

hen babléy da Aponí a way
rel barrio pl Grandparent-our echo-qu rel

Golyab. 2. Hen algawan, émméyda ano hen
Golyab rel one-day went-they rep rel

1. Long ago, they say, Dangtalan, they say, was the barrio of our grandparent, Golyab.
2. One day, they say, those people of Dangtalan went to celebrate-for-killing with (the people) of

andiday tatagu ad Dangtalan way
those people rel Dangtalan rel

nèpalanos ad Amungun.
celebrated-for-killing-with rel Amungun

3. Hen hiyadi way tempo, onga hen antoy
rel that rel time child rel this

Aponi way Golyab. 4. Yag ad
Grandparent-our rel Golyab and rel

namenghan, wada hen talopa, te
long-ago there-is rel siege because

andiday eHannang, dada i
those people-of-Hannang they go

talotalopéén hen tatagu ahtod
sieging-and-sieging rel people here-rel

Balangao.
Balangao

Amungun. 3. At that time, this grandparent of ours, Golyab, was a child. 4. And long ago, there was sieging, because those people from Hannang were always going to siege the people here in Balangao.

5. Yag angkay ano hiyadi way émméyda
and coh rep that rel went-they

hen andiday i nèpalanos
rel those go celebration-for-killing-with

ad Amungun, yag andiday nantongaw ah
rel Amungun and those stayed-at-home rel

babléy way manad-an anda ungunga,
barrio rel old-woman rel-pl children

enalekomkom ano hen andiday eHannang
surrounded rep rel those people-of-Hannang

dida. 6. An inan Golyab yah amana,
them rel mother Golyab and-rel father-his

gapo ta innilada way nasokokda way maid
since knew-they rel trapped-they rel none

én-énnénda way lomayaw, hemhemmàda way
how-to-do-they rel leave thought-they rel

5. And so then, in that those people went to celebrate-for-killing at Amungun, those who stayed home in the barrio who were the old women and children, those Hannang (people) surrounded them.
6. Golyab's mother and father, since they knew that they were trapped and there was no way to leave, they thought saying, "Oh dear, let's put our child in this wooden barrel so that perchance he'll live."

nangaliyén,	aẁ	iggata	hen	anàta
saying-sig	adj	put-we(du)	rel	child-our(du)

hen	antoy	kallong	ta	éhéd	ya
rel	this	wooden-barrel	so-that	perhaps	and

matagu.
live

7. Yadi	yag	iniggada	ano	hen	andi	onga
that	and	put-they	rep	rel	that	child

hen	annay	hen	annay	kallong	way	ah
rel	that	rel	that	wooden-barrel	rel	rel

Golyab	hen	ngadanna	way	hiyan
Golyab	rel	name-his	rel	he-rel

Aponi.	8. Yag	amin	a	way
Grandparent-our	and	all	echo-qu	rel

tatagu	way	wada	ahdih	babléyat
people	rel	there-is	there-rel	barrio-rel

natéyda	amin.
died-they	all

9. Angkay	dada	lomayaw	ano	hen
coh	they-are	leaving	rep	rel

andiday	eHannang,	ménat	a	no
those	people-of-Hannang	maybe	echo-qu	if

nappég	andi	onga	way	ini-inggaw	ah
tired-of	that	child	rel	staying-inside	rel

kallong,	yag	ekatna	anowén,	Ama.
wooden-barrel	and	said-he	rep-sig	Father

10. Yag	dengngalat	agé	hen	andiday
and	heard-rel	also	rel	those

eHannang	way	da	lomayaw.	11. Ménat
people-of-Hannang	rel	is	leaving	maybe

no	waday	duway	tawénna	hen	andi
if	there-is-rel	two-rel	years-his	rel	that

7. And so then, they put the child whose name is Golyab, who is our grandparent, into the wooden barrel. 8. And all of those people who were there in the barrio, they all died.

9. And so then those people from Hannang are leaving, and maybe the child is tired of staying in the wooden barrel, and he apparently said, "Daddy." 10. And those people from Hannang heard him as they were leaving. 11. Maybe the child was two years old. 12. And then, they say, those (people from) Hannang returned, and they got the child that was inside the wooden barrel, and they sliced his mouth and head, they say. 13. And maybe that child died.

onga. 12. Yag andaat ano mambangad andiday
child and then-they rep return those

eHannang, yag innalada andi onga way
people-of-Hannang and got-they that child rel

ini-inggaw ad dolkom andi kallong, yag
staying rel inside that wooden-barrel and

ginitgittàda ano hen tapàna ya hen
sliced-they rep rel mouth-his and rel

uluna. 13. Yag natéy a ménat hen andi
head-his and died echo-qu maybe rel that

onga.
child

14. Angkay hiyadi ano, andi babuy way
coh that rep that pig rel

mungaw, naddala ano; ammag an
white bloody rep utterly adj

inyuméhnay dala, yag éméy ano andi babuy
bathed-it-rel blood and go rep that pig

ad Amungun. 15. Yag ekatda anowén, nokay
rel Amungun and said-they rep-sig what

hen nalpowan hen annay babuyanna. 16. Eméy
rel came-from rel that pig-that that

nambêang andi babuy. 17. Yag ekat ano
bear-death-news that pig and said rep

andiday tataguwén, aẁ intaaw ta
those people-sig adj let's-go-we so-that

intaaw ilaw no heno hen nalpowan
let's-go-we see if what rel came-from

nahay babuy. 18. Andaat ano unudun hen
that-rel pig then-they rep follow rep

andi nalpowan hen babuy, yag nalpo ano
that came-from rel pig and came-from rep

14. So then, they say, a white pig, it was all bloody; it was utterly bathed in blood, and that pig went to Amungun. 15. And they said, "Where did that pig come from?" 16. That pig went to bear death news. 17. And those people said, "Oh dear, let's go, so we can go and see where that pig came from." 18. Then they followed that pig to where it came from, and it came from Dangtalan.

ad Dangtalan.
rel Dangtalan

19. Angkay hommàyatda ano, andaat
coh come-home-they rep then-they

ilan hen andiday tatagu way ammag an
see rel those people rel utterly adj

nadulepat way pahig natéy. 20. Andaat
sprawled-out rel pure dead then-they

ano alan hen andi balatat
rep get rel that banana-rel

ehadagda hen andiday natéy.
cause-to-sit-they rel those dead

21. Bab-alatbaténda didaat bugungunanda
line-up-they them-rel sleep-with-they

dida a hen andi nadhém.
them echo-qu rel that night

19. And so then, they came into the village, and they saw those people absolutely sprawled out, all of them dead. 20. Then they got banana stalks so that they could make the dead sit up (by supporting them with the stalks). 21. They lined them up and slept with them that night.

22. Angkay ano hiyadi way nahéhdém, yag
coh rep that rel late-night and

hen andi onga ano, hen pés-éy nan-î-iwi
rel that child rep rel first wiggled/moved

ano wat hen andi limana. 23. Yag
rep rel rel that hand-his and

na-aw-awni ano way tad-énda, yag dan
a-little-while rep rel touch-they and is

atong. 24. Ekatda anowén, aŵ umhéntaaw
he-warm said-they rep-sig adj bathe-we

te matagu ménat. 25. Andaat umhén
because live-he maybe then-they bathe

ano, wat kawkakawkawénda hen tapàna;
rep rel clean-out-they rel mouth-his

kena-anda hen dala, te an ano
removed-they rel blood because adj rep

22. And so then, as it was late that night, that child, they say, the first thing to move was his hand. 23. And a little later, as they touched him, he is warm! 24. They said, "Oh my, let's bathe him because maybe he'll live." 25. Then they bathed him, and they cleaned out his mouth; they removed the blood, because his mouth they say, was full of blood. 26. And they cared for him, and that child lived. 27. He was the only one who lived out of those who stayed home from that celebration-for-killing.

ammag   napnoh   dala hen tapàna.   26. Yag
utterly full-rel blood rel mouth-his   and

enayuwanandaat   natagu a   hen andi
cared-for-they-rel lived echo-qu rel that

onga. 27. Anggay hiyah natagu hen andiday
child   only   he-rel lived rel those

nantongaw   hen hiyadiy
stayed-at-home rel that-rel

palanos.
celebration-for-killing

28. Yag ad uwan, annay
    and rel now   that

kallongana,   dan
wooden-barrel-that is

attoatton.   29. Wat angkay
going-from-place-to-place   rel coh

enatonda   hen baléy da Malugay,
moved-they rel house pl Malugay

ekatdaén   etapalda.   30. Ngém gapo
said-they-sig throw-away-they   but since

ta dengngal-o way yaha hen nanagu an
   heard-I   rel that rel lived adj

Aponi,   ekat-owén, aŵ innà
Grandparent-our said-I-sig adj neg-I

angkay.   31. Pakay etapaldi?
if-you-please   why   throw-away-that

32. Yahah   nanaguh   apo!   33. Yaha,
    that-rel lived-rel grandparent   that

ay dengngalno hen annay imbagà?
qu heard-you rel that told-I

28. And now, that wooden barrel there, it is going from place to place. 29. And so when they took it to the house of Malugay, they said they'd throw it away. 30. But since I had heard that that was what had saved our grandparent, I said, "Oh dear, I don't (like that), if-you-please. 31. Why throw that away? 32. That is what saved our grandparent!" 33. There, did you hear what I told you?

Text P

Hen ekat way manay-at
rel say rel do-sticky-rice

1. Hen pés-éy ammaan, sopéén
rel first to-do measure-by-chupa

hen andi bégah way day-at yag
rel that pounded-rice rel sticky-rice and

inigga hen palangga ono hangbaw ono
put rel basin or small-basket or

awit.
large-basket

2. No palangga hen miggaan,
if basin rel place-of-putting

ammag lenapén yanggay hen danumna.
utterly covered-it only rel water-its

3. No matdù ono mamal-agan hen andi
if water-consumed or dried-up rel that

day-at, kasen dinman agé. 4. Ngém adi
sticky-rice again water-it also but neg

da duallén hen danumna no man-upalta ah
is make-much rel water-its if soak-we(du) rel

day-at, te kénég ah maupal.
sticky-rice because hard rel soak

5. Mag-ay ta dual hen day-at,
possibility so-that much rel sticky-rice

awit hen mangupalan.
large-basket rel place-of-soaking

6. Elayug hen day-at ah wangwang
take-down-to rel sticky-rice rel river

ono ah daghiyam, yag ensabbang inggana agé
or rel spring and immersed until also

How to Make Sticky Rice

1. The first (thing) to be done, measure the pounded sticky rice by the chupa and put in a basin or a small basket or a large basket.

2. If it's put in a basin, cover completely to the brim with water. 3. When the water is consumed or the sticky rice dries, add water again. 4. But don't add too much water when we're soaking sticky rice because its hard to soak. 5. Should it be that there's a lot of sticky rice, a large basket is what it should be soaked in. 6. Take the sticky rice down to the river or spring, and immerse (it) until it's covered with water.

ah malenap hen danumna.
rel be-covered-by rel water-its

7. No nalpas way naupal, binayu.
if finished rel soaked pounded

7. When it's finished being soaked, pound (it).

8. No naholhol, enakyà ono yinapyap.
if crushed sifted or winnowed

9. No laydén way yaméh hen day-at, an
if like rel soft rel sticky-rice adj

yapyapén. 10. Adi yanggay mamenghan hen
winnow-it neg only once rel

mangakya-an. 11. Waday mametlo ono
sifting there-is-rel 3-times or

mangempat pay.
4-times then

8. When it's crushed, sift (it) or winnow (it). 9. If you like soft sticky rice, winnow (it). 10. It won't be just once it'll be sifted. 11. It will be even 3 or 4 times.

12. No nalpas way natampò,
if finished rel made-into-flour

tenalwan ah danum yag penelot,
filled/added rel water and mixed-with-hands

anat oppeopan. 13. Hen mabalin way
then wrap rel possible rel

iyoppeop, tubun di balat ono
use-to-wrap leaf that banana or

takong. 14. No datan lenop, ilan
kind-of-leaf if we(du) are-wrapping see

ta maid hénggép ono gumhad ah tatagu,
so-that none enter or go-out rel people

te ma-agawatan hen day-at.
because diminish rel sticky-rice

12. When it's finished being made-into-flour, add water and work with your hands, then wrap (it). 13. What can be used to wrap (it) is, a banana leaf or a takong leaf. 14. When we are wrapping, be careful so that no people will come in or out (of the house) because the sticky rice will diminish (if they do).

15. Nalpas ay nalenopan, empénpén hen
finished rel wrapped stacked rel

15. (When it is) finished being wrapped, stack (it) into a pot.

banga. 16. Pahatan hen apoyna
pot stoke-the-fire rel fire-its

ta adi mabbétég.
so-that neg half-cooked

16. Stoke up the fire so that it won't be half-cooked.

17. No nauto, enangwat yag
if cooked removed-from-fire and

hiniyatan ah ténéng way danum ta adi
poured rel cool rel water so-that neg

pom-at hen andi day-at hen oppeopna.
stick rel that sticky-rice rel wrapper-its

18. No ah awni, enat-at yag empénpén hen
if rel later transferred and stacked rel

awit, ligaw ono
large-basket winnowing-basket or

hangbaw.
type-of-basket

17. When (it's) cooked, remove (it) from the fire and pour cool water (on it) so that the sticky rice won't stick to its wrapper. 18. After a while, transfer (it from the pot) and stack in a large basket, or a winnowing basket or a small basket.

19. No nabawbaw-an, inuppa-an dida.
if cooled unwrapped them

20. No ngayug hen igga ono ekamos, egadén
if coconut rel put or mix grate

yag enahinan, anat igga hen day-at.
and salted then place rel sticky-rice

19. When cooled, unwrap them. 20. If coconut is to be put (on) or mixed (with it), grate (it) and salt (it), then place on the sticky rice.

21. Nalpas kagé yag enan!
finished then-also and ate

21. (It's) finished then, and (now) eat!

Text H

Tugun pala antoday nabugi hen
advice for those-rel pregnant rel

béhégda
first-child-their

Advice to those who are pregnant with their first-child

1. Ditay nabugi, adita
we(du)-rel pregnant neg-we(du)

ammag manngengesse-et. 2. Baénta anggay
utterly grumbling not-we(du) only

ah da umat ahna. 3. Manghanta way da
rel is like that make-less-we(du) rel is

gumubnogubnol, te looh ay
continuously-woman-angry because past rel

mekelleponga hen gubnol,
become-internalized-in-you rel woman's-anger

ta kasenta agé mabugi,
so-that again-we(du) also get-pregnant

ammag hiyahiyaha. 4. Antag
utterly always-be-like-that we(du)-utterly

da omanianingalngal.
is becoming-angrier-and-angrier

1. We who are pregnant, let's not always be grumbling. 2. We aren't the only ones who are like that (pregnant). 3. Let's lessen our being angry because if that anger becomes part of you, and we'll get pregnant again, it'll always be like that. 4. We will always just be getting angrier and angrier.

5. Tàén no aggatokal hen man-ì-iwiyan,
even if lazy/sad rel moving-around

anohanta. 6. Data homepot ya
patient-we(du) is-we(du) work-in-field and

da ammaan hen aminay ma-ammaan, ta looh
is doing rel all-rel to-be-done because past

ay migita hen
rel become-internalized-in-you rel

tokal ammag hiyahiya no
laziness/sadness utterly like-that if

mabugita kase.
get-pregnant-we(du) again

5. Even if we feel too lazy to move around, let's be patient. 6. We should be working in the fields and doing all that is to be done, because if laziness becomes a part of us, it will always be like that when we get pregnant again.

7. No waday da lagadengén ah
if there-is-rel is craving rel

heno way ma-an ono missa, adi da baalén hen
what rel food or viand neg is send rel

7. If there is a craving for any kind of food or viand, don't send (your) husband (to go and get it), because many have done that,

ahawa, te dual hen da inummat wat
husband because many rel is like-that rel

dumaddama danahha ah témêdég ya témégtég.
many those rel fall-down and smash

8. No maid ay abbayyan ah baalén, adi da
if none rel sibling rel send neg is

ibaga past hen ahawa. 9. Unina no
telling exactly rel husband better if

ibaga ah tapena, ta dida hen
tell rel other so-that they rel

mangimbaga an ahawam. 10. No
telling-one rel husband-your if

waday umat ahdi, mampaniyan
there-are-rel like that to-make-parable-of

dita mampay. 11. Ekat hen tataguwén,
we(du) of-course say rel people-sig

anggay hen oklongén natég-ahan di
only rel craving-link the-falling-of rel

ahawa.
husband

resulting in many of those (sent ones) falling down and being injured. 8. If you don't have any siblings to send, don't tell (your) husband directly (to go). 9. It's better to tell another, so that they will be the ones to tell your husband. 10. If there is an incident like that (of your husband falling down and being injured), for sure people will use us as examples. 11. People will say, just (your) craving (caused your) husband to fall.

Text E1

Hen ommabulotan hen Ibalangao
rel believing-of rel people-of-Balangao

The Believing of the Balangaos

1. Hen pés-éyna, Ongtan hen da
rel first Spirits rel is

abuloton hen andiday
believing/obeying rel those

Ibalangao. 2. Yag hen antoday Ongtan,
people-of-Balangao and rel those Spirits

adida maila, ngém aggaégyatda
neg-they can-be-seen but very-fearful-they

1. In the beginning, spirits are what those Balangaos obeyed. 2. And these spirits, they can't be seen, but they are very, very fearful. 3. And so they are what the Balangaos are always continually obeying. 4. They have absolutely no power to refuse what these spirits like.

way télén. 3. Wat ammag dida hen da
rel intensely so-that utterly they rel is

abuabuloton hen andiday
continually-obey rel those

Ibalangao. 4. Ammag maid
people-of-Balangao utterly none

kabaelanda way mangadi hen andiday
ability-their rel to-refuse rel those

laydén hen antoday Ongtan. 5. Te no
like rel these Spirits because if

adida ammaan hen laydén antoday Ongtan,
neg-they do rel like these Spirits

ammag paligatén hen antoday Ongtan dida.
utterly persecute rel these Spirits them

6. Te hen laydén antoday Ongtan, ammay
because rel like these Spirits good

no mag dida yanggay hen da
if utterly they only rel is

dayadayawén andiday tatagu way
honoring-contin. those people rel

Ibalangao way héngéénda dida
people-of-Balangao rel sacrifice-to-they them

ah manŏ anda babuy.
rel chicken pl pig

5. Because if they don't do what these spirits like, these spirits will absolutely persecute them. 6. Because what these spirits like is that the Balangao people will always be only honoring them by sacrificing chickens and pigs to them.

7. Ngém angkay hen-algawan, way dengngal
but adj one-day rel heard

andiday Ibalangao hen alen
those people-of-Balangao rel word/talk

Apudyus, naleh-ag hen ingada way
God popped-up rel ears-their rel

mangngal hen mepanggép hen antoy
in-hearing rel about rel this

7. But then one day, when those Balangaos heard God's word, their ears 'popped up' in hearing about this God. 8. And so then, when they understood that this, God's manner of helping them, was better than that of the spirits, they utterly turned their backs on

Apudyusénto. 8. Yag angkay ma-awatanda
God-this and adj understand-they

way am-ammay hen ekaman Apudyusénto way
rel better rel manners God-this rel

manolong an dida no hen da ekaman andiday
help rel them than rel is manner those

Ongtan, andag nandùgan hen
Spirits they-utterly turned-back-on rel

antoday Ongtan. 9. Yag ah Jesu Cristuwat
these Spirits and rel Jesus Christ-rel

hen ommabulotanda. 10. Kaskasen, te
rel obeyed-they more-so because

na-awatanda way ah Jesu Cristuwénto,
understood-they rel rel Jesus Christ-this

wat hiya hen hennag Apudyus way manolong an
so he rel sent God rel help rel

dida. 11. Yag ol-olhe agê hiya no hen
them and stronger also him than rel

andiday Ongtan, wat kabaelana way manolong
those Spirits rel ability-his rel help

an dida.
rel them

these spirits. 9. And Jesus Christ was whom they obeyed. 10. More so, because they understood that this Jesus Christ, He is the one God sent to help them. 11. And He is also stronger than those spirits, so He has power to help them.

12. Isonga, yaha hen ommabulotan hen
therefore that rel believing rel

Ibalangao an Jesu Cristu.
people-of-Balangao rel Jesus Christ

12. Therefore, that is how the Balangaos came to believe in Jesus Christ.

Text E2

Tempuyug
Unity

Unity

1. Antoyan hen laydê paat way
this-here rel like-I exactly rel

1. Here is something I especially want to tell you about unity, my

ibaga ah dàyu way inib-ằ mepanggép
tell rel you rel companions-my about

hen tempuyug. 2. Nalégna ménat tot-owa ad
rel unity enough-it maybe true rel

uwan ah mangalyantaaw mepanggép hen hiyato
now rel speak-we about rel this

way banag. 3. Te hen mangalyaén
rel settlement because rel speak-I-sig

nalégna ad uwan, te kamanadi way
enough-it rel now because how-many-that rel

tawén hen nanginlugiyantaaw way omabulot?
year rel beginning-our rel to-believe

4. Nabayag. 5. Yag inggana ad uwan,
a-long-time and (but) until rel now

maid pay laeng ma-awatantaaw mepanggép hen
none adj adj understand-we about rel

laydén [illegible] antoy tempuyug way alyén.
like rel this unity rel to-say

companions. 2. It is maybe truly proper that we-all talk about this case now. 3. The reason why I say it's proper now is, because how many years has it been since we-all began to believe? 4. It's been long. 5. And (but) until now, there is nothing that we understand about what this unity means.

6. Gapo ta ekattaawén ah Jesu Cristu
since say-me-sig rel Jesus Christ

yanggay hen abulotontaaw, un-unninaat
only rel obey/believe-we, better-it-rel

ménat tot-owa no hiya hen dangléntaaw.
maybe truly if he rel listen-to-we

7. Antaaw ammag mansalamat; te amin
let-us utterly give-thanks because all

way laydéna way ammaantaaw, nesolat amin.
rel like-he rel all-us is-written all

8. Yag wada hen nesosolat way alen
and there-is rel is-written rel words

Jesu Cristu way ekatnaén, amintaaw way da
Jesus Christ rel said-he-sig all-we rel are

6. Since we-all say it is Jesus Christ only whom we obey, maybe it is truly better if He is the one we listen to. 7. Let's all utterly give thanks, because all that He wants us to do, it's all written. 8. And there is that written word of Jesus Christ in which He says, "All-we who are believing in Him, the result is God has transformed us into His exact offspring." 9. This is true if you please. 10. Because you look now; if God has the ability to make a way for people to have

omabulot an hiya, wat nanbalinan Apudyus
believing rel him rel transformed God

ditaaw paat ah a-anâna. 9. Tot-owa
us exactly rel off-spring-his true

angkayto. 10. Te ilanyungén;
if-you-please-this because look-you-adj

no kenabaelan Apudyus way nangamma hen andi
if enabled God rel has-made rel that

ekaman hen tatagu way umanâ ay ammoh
manner rel people rel give-birth qu rh

anina agé kabaelan way mangamma hen andi
neg-he also able rel to-make rel that

ekmannay manganâ an ditaaw?
manner-rel to-adopt rel us

11. Kabaelana way télén. 12. Yag yato,
ability-his rel intensely and this

antoy dana alyén way ekatnaén, amin way
this he-is saying rel says-it-sig all rel

tatagu way omabulot an Cristu, wat anaéna
people rel believe rel Christ rel adopt-he

dida; way hen laydénay alyén, ammaana
them rel rel likes-that-rel say do-he

andi kabaelana way mangana-ana an dida.
that able-he rel to-adopt-he rel them

13. Wat an ditaaw way da omabulot, ammag
coh rel we rel are believing utterly

anâna paat ditaaw way télén.
off-spring-his exactly we rel intensely

14. Wat no yaha, masosnodtaaw paat agé
coh if that brothers-we exactly also

way télén. 15. Wat no masosnodtaaw way
rel intensely coh if brothers-we rel

télén, nokay ngalud hen ammaantaaw nô?
intensely what then rel do-we then

offspring (rh. qu.) is He not also able to make a way in which He will have us for offspring? 11. He is exactly able. 12. And this, this which He says, saying, "All people who obey Christ, the result is, He will make them His offspring," which means, He will do what He is capable of doing in adopt/making-offspring of them. 13. Therefore we who are believing, we are utterly, exactly and intensely His children/offspring. 14. Therefore, if that is the case, we are also exactly, intensely brothers-to-each-other. 15. Therefore, if we are intensely brothers, what then should we do? 16. Maybe we truly do not know what we should do, since we're all only children whom God has made His offspring.

16. Maid ménat tot-owa innilataaw andiday
none maybe truly knew-we those

ammaantaaw, gapo ta ungungataaw way
do-we since children-we rel

inyanâ Apudyus.
gave-birth God

17. Ngém ah Apudyus, gapo ta hiya hen
but rel God since he rel

Ama, innilana hen itugunna an ditaaw way
Father knew-he rel advise-he rel us rel

masosnod. 18. Yag nokay paat andi
brothers and what exactly that

napateg way dana paat itugutugun an
important rel is-he exactly advising rel

ditaaw way ammaantaaw way masosnod? 19. Nokay
us rel do-we rel brothers what

ngata hen ma-awatanyu andi tugunna way
then rel understand-you that advice-his rel

ekatnaén, masapol man-ahelennayadtaaw?
says-it-sig must love-each-other-we

20. Ayé ta epanitaaw hen antoy
hey rel parable-we rel this

masosnodantaaw hen antoy lota. 21. Nokay hen
brotherhood-our rel this earth what rel

ammaanyu no ammag hen-algawan yag wada
do-you if utterly one-day and there-is

angkay ah pangolowam ono ah
if-you-please rel older-sibling-your or rel

enawdim way nataynan andi
younger-sibling-your rel left-behind that

dalan ad Liyas te adi makadén hen
trail rel Liyas because neg able-to-carry rel

17. But God, since He is the Father, He knows what to advise us who are brothers. 18. And just what is that very important thing which He is clearly advising us that we who are brothers should do? 19. What then is it that you understand of His advice when He says, "We must love one another?" 20. Hey, let us 'parable' this brotherhood on this earth. 21. What would you do if one day there was someone who told you saying, "There is, if you please, your older or younger sibling, who was left behind on the trail to Liyas, because he couldn't carry what he was carrying." 22. For sure, if you heard that, because of your love for your older or younger sibling you would be moved-with-pity and you would say, "Oh, give me my bolo so I can go, so I can go help, because my brother is pitiful." 23. All of us maybe, the result is for sure that is what we would do because of our

édénna.   22. Siguladu way no dengngalnodi,
carry-he   assuredly rel if heard-you-that

gapo hen layadno andi pangolowam
since rel love-you that older-sibling-your

ono enawdim   maség-ang-a
or younger-sibling-one move-with-pity-you

yag ekatnowén, aẁ iyaliyu   annay bangid-o
and say-you-sig adj bring-you that bolo-my

ta   éméyà, ta   éméyà tomolong,
so-that go-I   so-that go-I to-help

te   ka-ase hen sonod-o.   23. Amintaaw
because pitiful rel brother-my   all-we

ménat wat siguladu way yahan   ammaantaaw
maybe rel assuredly rel that-rel do-we

gapo hen layadtaaw hen sonodtaaw.   24. Yag
since rel love-our rel brother-our   and

yato angkay   hen laydén andi
this if-you-please rel likes that

man-ahelennayad way alyén, way
love-one-another rel say   rel

mantetennolongtaaw gapon   layad ah
help-each-other-we since-rel love rel

iba.   25. Yag yato angkay   paat
companion   and this if-you-please exactly

hen laydén Apudyus way ammaantaaw antoy
rel likes God   rel do-we   this

masosnodantaaw an hiya, way masapol
brotherhood-our rel him   rel must

koma   agé man-ahelennayadtaaw way
hopefully also love-each-other-we rel

man-ahesinnég-angtaaw, ta
pity-each-other-we   so-that

mantetennolongtaaw hen amin way ma-ammaa.
help-each-other-we rel all rel to-be-done

love for our brother. 24. And this, if-you-please, is what this love-one-another means, in that we help-one-another because of our love for our companion. 25. And this, if-you-please, is exactly what God wants us to do to our brothers in Him, that is, it is also necessary that we love-one-another, that is, we are to show pity to each other, so that we will help-each-other in all that will be done. 26. And if this is what we are always-doing, true unity will form. 27. Because even if we are always-talking about unity, if we don't obey this which our Father God has said, nothing, if-you-please, will come of this unity. 28. And it's fearful if we don't obey. 29. Because He also said, that person who doesn't obey, the result is, he's just a liar. 30. And (rh. qu.) is your believing in vain, and are you really a believer if you don't obey?

26. Yag no yato hen dataaw amma-ammaan, malmu
and if this rel are-we doing-doing form

andi tot-oway tempuyug. 27. Te ulay
that true-rel unity because even

angkay dataaw alyéalyén hen
if-you-please are-we saying-saying rel

tempuyug, no aditaaw tongpalén, hen antoy da
unity if neg-we obey rel this is

ibagan Amataaw way Apudyus, maid
telling Father-our rel God none

angkay bùnag ah tempuyug. 28. Yag
if-you-please come-out rel unity and

aggaégyat no aditaaw tongpalén. 29. Te
fearful if neg-we obey because

ekatna met agéén, andi tatagu way adi
said-he adj also-sig that person rel neg

tomongpal, wat an lawa ammag
obey rel adj adj utterly

nangéttémdi. 30. Yag ay ammoh galang-a
liar/lied-that and qu rh in-vain-you

way ommabulot, yag tomongpal?
rel believed and obey

31. Isonga yato koma hen
therefore this hopefully rel

palakteséntaaw way da mangamma-amma, ta
practice-we rel is doing-doing so-that

malmu hen tempuyugtaaw, te yadi hen
form rel unity-our because that rel

laydén Apudyus paat way ekamantaaw.
likes God exactly rel be-manner-our

32. Yag ay ammoh laydényu no anyu da
and qu rh like-you if adj-you are

31. Therefore, this is what we should practice to be always-doing, so that our unity will form, because that is what God likes very much that we do. 32. And (rh. qu.) would you like it if you were just lying to God, saying you are obeying and (but) you are not? 33. And (rh. qu.) do you have no fear? 34. Therefore, that is what we should

kétkéttéman	ah	Apudyus,	way	ekatyuwén,
lying	rel	God	rel	say-you-sig

tomongpal-ayu	yag	adiayuwat?	33. Yag	ay
obey-you	and	neg-you-adj	and	qu

ammoh	maid	égyatyu?	34. Wat	yaha
rh	none	fear-your	therefore	that

koma	hen	ham-éham-éntaaw,	ta
hopefully	rel	think-we	so-that

tomongpaltaaw	tot-owa,	ta
obey-we	truly	so-that

matetempuyugtaaw	te	yaha	hen	laydén
be-in-unity-we	because	that	rel	like

Amataaw	way	Apudyus.
Father-our	rel	God

be thinking about, so that we will truly obey so that we will-be-in-unity-each other, because that is what our Father God likes.

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SOME FEATURES OF HORTATORY DISCOURSE
IN CENTRAL CAGAYAN AGTA[1]

Roy Mayfield
Summer Institute of Linguistics

0. Introduction
1. Social restrictions
2. Distinguishing features
3. Typical tagmemic structure
4. Theme introduction and development
5. Paragraph structure
6. Embedding
Notes
Appendix
References

0. Introduction

This paper[2] describes some of the more apparent grammatical features in Agta hortatory discourse and their relationship to the semantic structure. Discussed below are the social restrictions on the speaker-hearer relationship, features which distinguish hortatory from other discourse genre, typical tagmemic structure, theme identification and development, paragraph structure, and embedding.

1. Social restrictions

The purpose of hortatory discourse in Agta is clearly to influence behavior, a process which creates a considerable degree of tension between the participants. Cultural values accordingly place certain restrictions on both the occurrence of hortatory communication and the degree of tension that may acceptably be applied. As in most Philippine cultural minority groups, Agta society is highly authoritarian, and only those with some culturally recognized degree of authority exercise their prerogative to influence the behavior of those who are in some sense under their authority. In Agta culture this is predominantly in the 'father-extended family' relationship, which is their basic unit of social organization. Traditionally Agtas have not lived in large communities but rather in small bands of related family members. Therefore community-wide authorities such as chiefs or elders who might advise and exhort do not exist. Older men may advise a community gathering larger than an extended family, but not with the same degree of tension or directness permitted a father with his family. This less direct form of exhortation is characterized by the use of first person plural inclusive or third person plural, as opposed to the second person generally used in stronger forms of exhortation.

2. Distinguishing features

Longacre and Levinsohn (1977) have posited two major parameters for distinguishing four discourse genre.[3] Agent orientation as one parameter and chronological linkage as the other results in the following four possibilities (as displayed in Figure 1): 1. narrative discourse, which is agent oriented with chronological linkage; 2. behavioral discourse, which is agent oriented minus chronological linkage; 3. procedural discourse, which is minus agent orientation plus chronological linkage; and 4. expository discourse, which is minus agent orientation minus chronological linkage. Minus chronological linkage can be read as logical linkage.

Hortatory discourse in Agta is further distinguished from other discourse genre by its predominant orientation toward the second person, predominance of imperative clauses in the paragraph nucleus, and subordinate clauses bearing a logical relation to the clauses they support.[4]

		AGENT ORIENTATION plus	AGENT ORIENTATION minus
CHRONOLOGICAL LINKAGE	plus	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL
	minus	HORTATORY 1. 2nd person 2. Imperative clauses in paragraph nucleus 3. Logical type subordinate clauses in periphery	EXPOSITORY

Figure 1. Discourse genre

3. Typical tagmemic structure

Hortatory discourse tagmemes are designated in relation to the discourse theme and/or the discourse as a whole. From the five hortatory texts which have formed the basis of this study we posit the following constituents: exhortation, amplification, elaboration, conclusion, and finis. The amplification and conclusion tagmemes are not present in every text, so a general formula for Agta hortatory discourse would thus be:

+ Ex ± A + E ± C + F

Longacre (1972:134) has suggested that the beginning of a discourse normally has some formulaic structure of stereotyped content which indicates the aperture of the discourse, and this he seems to distinguish from 'some other tagmeme whose exponent more properly gets the discourse going', which he suggests may be stage in narrative discourse, or introduction in hortatory and explanatory discourse. We have not found that Agta hortatory discourse has such an aperture tagmeme, for while certain types of structures do characteristically occur, they are not of 'stereotyped content'. The initial sentences of the texts analyzed appear to contain the command element which serves as the theme of the discourse, so we have posited an exhortation tagmeme as the beginning of each discourse.

Discourse level tagmemes are normally expounded by paragraphs whose tagmemes are in turn expounded by one or more sentences.[5] However, Agta hortatory discourse tagmemes do not always neatly coincide with paragraph and sentence boundaries. This is particularly true in the initial tagmeme slots of the discourse where introduction and amplification (or detail-schema-point-one) tagmemes are both expounded by sentence structures within the initial paragraph of the discourse. Amplification and point-one tagmemes may likewise be expounded in the same paragraph.

3.1 Characteristic features of discourse tagmemes

The tagmemes that have been posited for hortatory discourse appear to constitute 'the natural outline' (Longacre 1972:134) of this discourse genre. This natural outline is observable not only through the semantic relations that obtain between the tagmemes themselves and between the tagmemes and the whole discourse, but also through definite grammatical features which mark those relations. The following paragraphs present a discussion of the tagmemes and the grammatical features which characterize them.

3.1.1 The exhortation tagmeme is marked most obviously by its initial position in the discourse. In the texts analyzed this tagmeme is expounded by a sentence, as is also the case in a number of other Philippine languages (Longacre 1968:34).

Examples:[6]

1. Yen ya magbida ak tekamuy, anak
that SM[7] talk I you(pl) children

ku ikid ni Enut te awemuy pagkwan
I they AM Enut because not-you(pl) cause-do

anna magnonot kam ta mappya pettam kuman
and think you(pl) RM good so-that like

en a mappya.
that cj good

The reason I am talking to you, my children and Enut (his wife), is that you don't let anything happen and think carefully so that consequently things will be good.

2. Aleng Andung, a mabidak ya mappya
son Andung cj talk-I SM good

teko pettam kunna a awem pagkafuyan
you so-that like-that cj not-you cause-weak

na ya nonot mu.
now SM mind you

Andung, my son, I have something good to talk to you about so that as a result you won't allow your mind/heart to become weak.

3. A yen, aleng, ya nonotam ta mappya
cj that son SM think-you RM good

te intu mina parigam ya kuman na iyak
because it should imitate SM like AM I

ta kawan ku ta atawa.
RM absence I RM spouse

Now the thing, son, you are to consider well is that what you should emulate is like what I did when I didn't have a spouse.

4. Andung, a ibar mu hapa ta
Andung cj tell you also RM

alaabbing en afuk ken ta ange
little-child that grandchild I-that RM go

magbasa te awena la ta kuman na iko en
study for not-it only RM like AM you that

Andung, you tell that little child there, my grandchild there to go to school because he shouldn't be like you when you were small, you didn't complete your schooling.

ta kaassang mu awem nehuhugut magbasa.
RM when-small you not-you completed study

5. A kuman en ya mabidak tekamuy,
cj like that SM talk-I you(pl)

Amboy ikid ni Mahita te awemuy tapilan
Amboy they AM Mahita for not-you(pl) fight

ya hina muy ta kawan kin pettam
SM mother you(pl) RM absence I-here so-that

kuman en a amuk haman ta mappya kam
like that cj know-I surely RM good you(pl)

mina tentu te anak na kam haman.
ought her for children her you(pl) surely

And similarly, my advice to you, Amboy and Mahita, is that don't you quarrel with your mother while I am gone, so that consequently I'll know (regardless of circumstances) that you intend to be good to her because after all you are her children.

Several other features common to most if not all of these examples may also be observed:

(1) A vocative occurs in all examples in various positions depending on the type of construction used to introduce the discourse. The vocative does not occur in subsequent paragraphs unless a new participant is being introduced or a specific participant from a previously addressed group is being addressed. Such cases are probably best analyzed as embedded discourses, which are sometimes introduced in ways similar to non-embedded discourses.

(2) In examples 1, 2, and 5, a first person singular reference is used where the speaker states what he is doing.

(3) Another typical feature of exhortation tagmeme exponents is a somewhat general command or hortatory statement introducing the theme of the discourse, which is then developed with more specific points in subsequent tagmemes.

(4) Examples 1 and 3, which may be considered the most typical type of beginning in Agta hortatory discourse, are examples of a pseudo-cleft construction,[8] which according to Jones (1977:176) ranks relatively high among constructions that highlight theme in English.

3.1.2 The amplification tagmeme is mainly characterized by a paraphrase or expansion of the thematic idea presented in the exhortation tagmeme, so cohesion is maintained primarily through lexical repetition or similarity. Furthermore, as stated previously in Section 3, the amplification tagmeme may or may not coincide with paragraph boundaries. In the examples given below this tagmeme is shown to be expounded by a sentence rather than a whole paragraph. (Examples are numbered according to text rather than sentence for purposes of comparison with examples in 3.1.1.)

Examples:

2. Kuman en hapa te hinam Deluy
like that also RM mother-you Deluy

a intu hapa ya magnonot mangituldu ta mappya
cj she also SM think teach RM good

tekamuy.
you(pl)

Similarly, concerning your mother, Deluy, she will be the one to consider and teach what is good to you.

4. A kappyanan na ta yen ka ya
cj best it RM that you SM

itatabarang ta abbing en afuk
advise RM child that grandchild

kina te pettam kunna a
my-there because so-that like-that cj

makaalap hapa ta assang, pettam kunna
ability-get also RM small so-that like-that

a awan hapa ta manguyoyung tentu.
cj none also RM harass him

So its best that that's what you advise, the child, my grandchild, so that consequently he will be able to acquire a little, so that in turn no one will harass him.

In Example 2 the amplification tagmeme occurs in a separate paragraph marked by kuman en hapa 'like that also', which not only signals new thematic information but also lexically ties the new information to the old by means of an adverbial demonstrative. The particular relationship of amplification is even more evident in the introduction of a new participant in connection with the repetition of the theme stated in the exhortation, mappya 'good'.

In Example 4 amplification is more on the order of paraphrase, in which the theme stated in the introduction is referred to by the demonstrative yen 'that' and cohesion is further maintained lexically by use of the word itatabarang 'advise', which serves to both paraphrase and amplify the word ibar 'tell' in the exhortation. Further amplification is provided in the subordinate clause, which adds further argument as to why the child should be encouraged to go to school, i.e. to acquire a little learning so as to not be subject to harassment. In contrast to Example 2 above, the amplification tagmeme in Text 4 occurs in the same paragraph as the exhortation and is expounded by a sentence.

3.1.3 The elaboration tagmeme is actually a complex constituent in the discourse string consisting of several paragraphs. I discuss the structure of this constituent by employing the concept of schema. The concept of schema, as we are using it in these papers, is similar to the notion of script as used by Linda Jones 1977. It is quite different, however, from the original use of the term 'script' in Linguistics and Artificial Intelligence (e.g. Schank, Roger and Robert Abelson 1977), and it also differs from the use of 'schema' in cognitive psychology. (For a discussion of these differences see the introduction to this volume and for a more complete discussion of schemata, theme, backbone, and discourse-structure, and how they inter-relate see Walrod and Shetler (this volume) Section 6.)

A hortatory discourse may also be considered a hortatory schema because what we have is a structure with repeatable units, i.e. a nucleus which is equal to our exhortation tagmeme, and several margins equal to our amplification, elaboration, conclusion, and finis tagmemes. Important, however, to the concept of schema is the essentially referential rather than linear ordering of the constituents, although there is frequent isomorphism between the grammatical and referential units.

Since schemata also have a constituent structure, these constituents likewise may be in terms of schemata and therefore we can talk about a particular kind of schema expounding a particular tagmeme in the discourse structure. It is in this sense that we can say that the elaboration tagmeme is expounded by a detail schema.

A detail schema is characterized by several constituents which are thematically independent of each other, and therefore individually nuclear, but which are equally related to the elaboration tagmeme as separate details or points. As implied from the opening sentence of this section the detail schema consists of several paragraphs. Each paragraph, then, is a separate point in this schema, not by virtue of its being a paragraph but simply because there is almost total isomorphism between the grammatical paragraphs and the referential units, viz. the schema constituents.[9]

The following brief text is given in full as an example of a hortatory discourse with its constituents, schemata and their constituents.

SAMPLE TEXT 1

Nucleus-exhortation: Cleft sentence[10]

1. A yen, aleng, ya nonotam ta mappya
   cj that son SM think-you RM good
te intu mina pahigam ya kuman na iyak
for it should imitate-you SM like AM I

Now what you consider well, son, is that what you should emulate is like what I did when I didn't have a wife.

ta kawan ku ta atawa.
RM absence I RM spouse

Margin-elaboration: Detail schema

Nucleus-point 1: Coordinate sentence

2. Ipaitam hapa ya mappya ta agyan
show-you also SM good RM place

mina na babbay anna ipaitam ya ngamin
ought AM girl and show-you SM all

tarabakum, pettam kuman en kuman na
work-you so-that like that like AM

mamayatan hapa ya babbay am ipaitam ngamin
agreeable also SM girl if show-you all

na kappyam anna tarabakum pettam kuman
AM virtue-you and work-you so-that like

en makanonot hapa.
that decide also

Show good behaviour to the girl's relatives, and show industry, so that as a result the girl will be agreeable if you show all your virtue and work, so that consequently she will be considerate too.

Nucleus-point 2: Hortatory paragraph/sentence

3. A intu para ibar ku teko, Ginyamor,
cj it yet tell I you Ginyamor

iwarad mu mina ya dulay na nonot, pettam
throw you ought SM bad AM thoughts so-that

kuman en a makanonot hapa ya agyan na
like that cj able-think also SM place AM

babbay teko, te am ipaitam ya dulay ta
girl you for if show-you SM bad RM

agyan na babbay teko a kuman na mazigat ya
place AM girl you cj like AM difficult SM

pagkwan na hapa teko na agyan na babbay.
do it also you AM place AM girl

Now another thing I'll say to you, Ginyamor, get rid of any bad ideas, so that consequently the girl's relatives will also be considerate toward you, because if you behave badly around the girl's relatives then it will be somewhat difficult for the girl's relatives to know what to do concerning you.

Nucleus-point 3: Contrast schema/Paraphrase paragraph

4. A kuman en hapa ya mabidak anna
cj like that also SM tell-I and

itulfuk ta uhohug kin, te ikami mina
add-I RM word I-this for we(ex) ought

aleng ya makkamu mangita ta kappyanam
son SM able-know look RM welfare-you

pettam kuman en a mappya mina.
so-that like that cj good ought

Now along the same line what I have to say in addition to my previous word is that we, son, should be the ones responsible to look out for your interests so that as a result it will be good.

5. Ammi kompormi ya uray mu, am iko
but whatever SM opinion you if you

hapa ya kuman na maguray a awek amu am
also SM like AM go-alone cj not-I know if

gustu sangaw ya paguray mu.
right later SM independence you

But it is up to you, if you are the one to go on your own I'm not sure whether your independent action will be appropriate.

6. Mappya mina ta ikami ya maguhay
good would RM we(ex) SM go-alone

pettam kuman en mapili mi mina ya mappya
so-that like that choose we ought SM good

na nonot.
AM mind

It would be better that we be the ones to take the initiative so that as a result we can choose one who has a good attitude/character.

7. Te am angarigan sangaw ta iko ya
for if example later RM you SM

maguray a kuman sangaw na nekayat kabbit ta
go-alone cj like later AM liked pinch RM

ayan in ta araw in yan, lakwat
now here RM day there this tomorrow

nagtugutan na kan te amum haman
left she you-now for know-you afterall

te ikon ya maguray.
that you-now SM go-alone

But if for instance you will be the one to go on your own it will be as though she wants to latch on to you now, today, but tomorrow she has gone off and left you, because as you know you acted all on your own.

8. Ammi am ikami mina ya
but if we(ex) should SM

mangipapilit teko ay mappya te nepapilit
urge-acceptance you oh good for urged

da haman ya anak da en teyak a
they afterall SM child they that me cj

awek mina pagtugutan kunna hapa na babbay
not-I ought leave say-it also AM girl

teko.
you

However, if we should be the ones to urge your acceptance then the girl will say, 'Oh its good that they urged me to accept their son, so I shouldn't leave him.'

9. A yen ka ya nonotan.
cj that you SM think-about

So you think about this.

Nucleus-point 4: Paragraph/Sentence

10. A kuman en hapa am dakal hapa na
cj like that also if large also AM

babbay, magtulag kami ta pagatawa muy,
girl contract we(ex) RM marriage you(pl)

pettam kuman en bakkan la ta ikami ya
so-that like that not just RM we(ex) SM

makkamu ta pagatawa muy awa ikami na
know RM marriage you(pl) but we(ex) AM

agyan na babbay anna agyan na lalaki pettam
place AM girl and place AM man so-that

kuman en kuman na pagdadafungan mi ya
like that like AM meeting-place we(ex) SM

pagatawa muy.
marriage you(pl)

And along the same line if she is an older girl we will arrange a contract for your marriage, so that as a result we won't be the only ones responsible for your marriage, but both the girl's relatives and the man's relatives, so that consequently it will be like we have a common ground in your marriage.

Margin-conclusion: Paragraph/Sentence

11. A yen la ya abat na mabidak anna
cj that only SM end AM talk-I and

Now that's all I have to tell and say to you, so that as a result you

nebar ku teko pettam kuman en a kwam
tell I you so-that like that cj do-you

mina ngamin ya abat na kwam anna awem
ought all SM end AM do-you and not-you

kwan ya dulay pettam kuman en ipaitam
do-you SM bad so-that like that show-you

ya kappyanan na rangatawam petta kuman en
SM benefit AM engagement so-that like that

awan hapa ta pangbidan na katahungan teko.
none also RM talk AM in-laws you

do all you have to do thoroughly and don't do anything bad, so that consequently you will show the advantage of your engagement, so that consequently your in-laws won't have reason to talk about you.

Margin-finis: Sentence

12. A yen la ya abat na.
cj that only SM end it

That's the end of it.

Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 have already discussed the grammatical devices which identify and characterize the exhortation and amplification tagmemes of hortatory discourse. I turn now to a discussion of the grammatical devices which mark the elaboration tagmeme. It was stated at the beginning of this section that the elaboration tagmeme is expounded by a detail schema which in turn has a constituent structure expounded by paragraphs. This has to be modified slightly, in that the initial constituent of a detail schema is expounded by a sentence rather than a paragraph. This is one point at which there is no isomorphism between the grammatical units of the discourse and the referential units. As may be observed from the text example, the nucleus-point 1 of the detail schema is expounded by a coordinate sentence which is also a portmanteau for the amplification tagmeme of the opening paragraph of the discourse (see Section 5). The characteristic device for signaling the elaboration tagmeme is therefore a non-initial sentence of a paragraph further characterized by the absence of preliminary orientation margins, abrupt command intonation, specific lexical content versus generic in the exhortation and/or amplification tagmeme exponents, and in many cases rhetorical underlining by the use of restatement or paraphrase within the sentence nucleus. Subsequent point tagmemes of the detail schema are expounded by paragraphs (see Section 5).

3.1.4 The conclusion tagmeme of hortatory discourse structure is expounded by a simple paragraph or a quasi-closure paragraph (Sample Text 1, sentence 11). Devices for marking these paragraphs as the conclusion are abrupt change of lexical content and generic repetition of the main hortatory theme. In the examples we have analyzed, the repetition of the main hortatory theme is carried in the post-margin of the paragraph rather than the nucleus. For examples see Sample Text 1, sentence 11 and Appendix, Sample Text 2, sentence 5.

3.1.5 The finis tagmeme is expounded by a closure paragraph, which is characterized by a formulaic closure sentence (see Sample Text 1, sentence 12).

4. Theme introduction and development

4.1 A working definition of theme for hortatory discourse may be expressed as a 'minimum generalization' (Jones 1977:2) of a text or constituent thereof. A further elaboration of this definition is well expressed by Jones as 'the most specific statement that can be made which still encompasses the entire text' (1977:155), and it might be added, 'or constituent of the text' to include themes that are on a level lower than an entire discourse. Since theme is a notion that is tied basically to the referential (deep) structure, we can talk about multiple themes in the referential hierarchy (Jones 1977:153). The theme of the highest level of structure is referred to as the primary theme. Lower level themes are termed secondary and tertiary, etc. My main concern in this section is to discuss the primary theme of hortatory discourse, although structures lower in the hierarchy have their own primary theme as well.

4.1.1 The primary discourse theme is introduced by means of the exhortation tagmeme. The surface structure devices which mark deep structure theme introduction are, in order of importance: 1. a pseudo-cleft sentence construction, 2. occurrence of a vocative, 3. first person singular reference, 4. generic command or statement of purpose (see Section 3.1.1).

Grimes (1975:337,ff.) calls attention to the process of topicalization as a device used in various languages for highlighting or identifying the speaker's thematic choice. He refers to a special way of marking topicalization as 'PARTITIONING the content of a sentence into two parts that are joined by an equative construction, the so-called 'pseudo-cleft' construction. The two parts are related to each other in the same way that a question and answer are related, and in fact are generally expressed by grammatical patterns similar to those used for questions on the one hand and for relative clauses on the other' (1975:338).

What I have called a pseudo-cleft construction in Agta is an equative construction, although a little different in grammatical structure from examples Grimes cites from English. Note the following example:

Yen, aleng, ya nonotam ta mappya that son SM think-you RM good	Now what you consider well, son, is that what you should emulate is

te intu mina parigam ya kuman na iyak what I did when I didn't
because it ought copy-you SM like AM I have a spouse.

ta kawan ku ta atawa.
RM none I RM spouse

Note that rather than the equation being between a question part and an answer part as in English, the equation is between two parts to the answer, in which the first part is grammatically patterned after the implied question. The first part *A yen, aleng, ya nonotam* is identical in pattern to what the question would be, i.e. *anu aleng ya nonotam*? 'Son, what do you consider?' The only change is *yen* 'that' for *anu* 'what'. The second part is grammatically patterned after a reason subordinate clause introduced by *te*, which in most subordinate clauses is translated as 'because', but in this equative function is better translated 'is that'.

Longacre (1968:126) refers to a similar construction in other Philippine languages as a 'Reason Sentence which incorporates a *Cause Margin* or *Purpose Margin* into the derived nucleus. Typically, the exponent of the margin is incorporated as the Base 2 of the nucleus, and a *Marker* meaning 'reason'/'that's why' or something of this order is preposed to Base 1. The whole nucleus becomes then implicitly equative'. Another process by which this equative nucleus might be explained for Agta is referred to as Fronting (Grimes 1975:342,ff). The speaker's choice of theme is identified or highlighted by means of prepositioning the thematic clause in a pronominal substitute. Thus the second part of the equation in the example introduced by *te* is in effect highlighted in the demonstrative substitute *yen* 'that'. The adverbial demonstrative *kuman en* 'like that' may also occur as the fronted element. Further examples of pseudo-cleft constructions are shown in Section 3.1.1, Examples 1, 3, and 5.

4.1.2 The primary theme, as mentioned earlier, is the minimum generalization for the text. This has already been stated in the exhortation, and nothing more can be said about the primary theme except in terms of reinforcement, recapitulation, and termination. These notions coincide with the marginal tagmemes of amplification, elaboration, conclusion, and finis, and constitute secondary themes in the discourse because they are semantically subordinate to the primary theme. Thus the development of the primary theme of a hortatory discourse is in terms of its secondary themes. Devices for identifying secondary themes are the same as for identifying marginal tagmemes (see appropriate sections). Structures which constitute secondary themes of the discourse also have primary themes. For example, the primary theme of the elaboration margin of Sample Text 1 is actually a cluster of balanced themes, what Jones would call a 'synthesized theme' (1977:1,2), because each point is a nuclear constituent of the detail schema which expounds the elaboration tagmeme. Tertiary discourse themes would be expounded by the nucleus of those structures which are subordinate to the secondary themes.

As an aid to visualizing the hierarchical nature of themes in hortatory discourse, a tree diagram of the thematic structure of Sample Text 1 is given in Figure 2. This display shows us several things about the thematic structure of that text. The notation system describes each tagmeme in terms of slot (nucleus vs. margin), semantic function (exhortation, elaboration, point, statement, etc.), and class filler (schema or sentence). Numbers refer to the sentence numbers in the text.

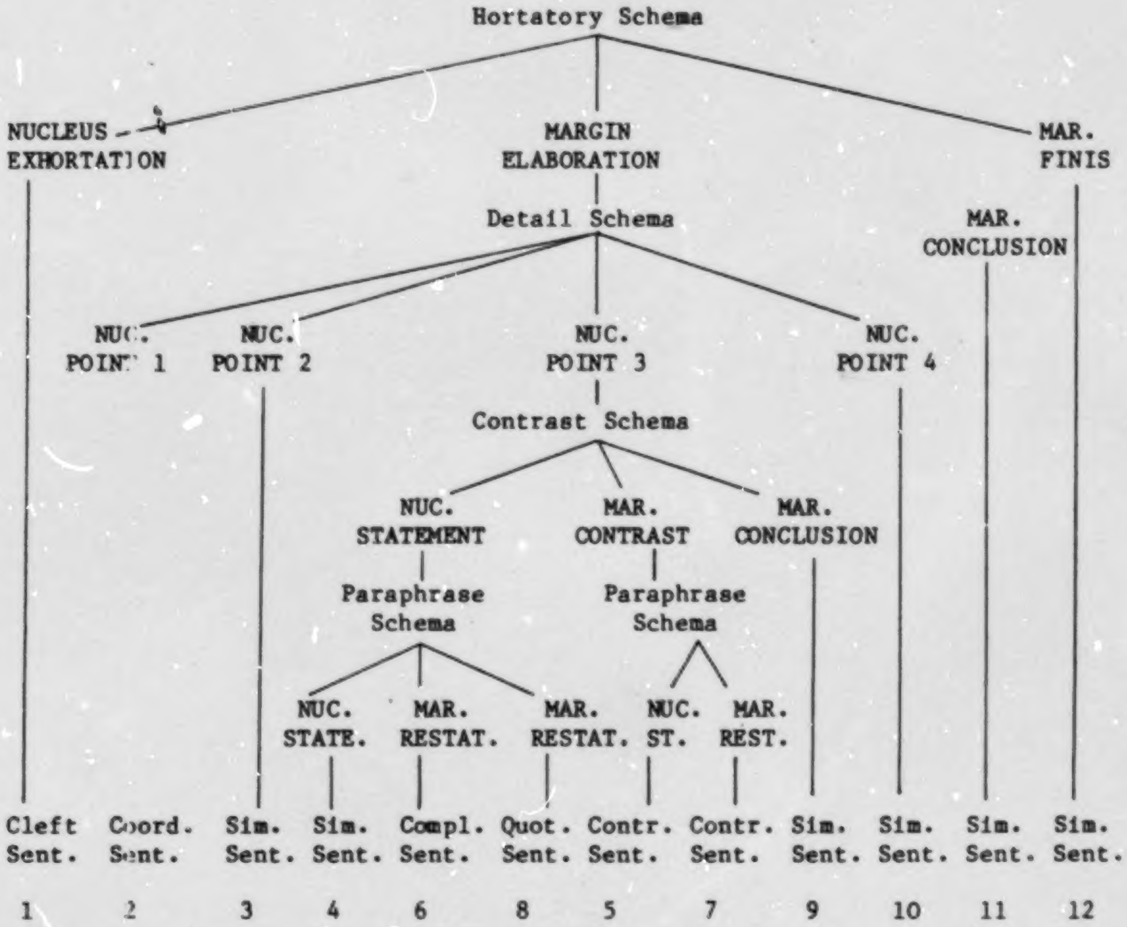


Figure 2. Thematic structure of Sample Text 1

The horizontal lines indicate the levels of thematicity in the text, the theme being represented by the nucleus (or nuclei) on each level. Thus four levels of thematicity are shown. The particular level of thematicity of any sentence may easily be determined by counting the number of margins in the vertical relationship from the sentence to the highest level. Zero margins equal primary theme, one margin equals secondary theme, and so on. For example, sentence 2 may be traced through one margin, therefore it is a secondary theme. Likewise, sentence 4 is a secondary theme, even though it is embedded in two higher levels. Sentence 7 is the quaternary theme since it is traced through three margins.

A further observation from this display is the non-sequential ordering of theme as illustrated in sentences 4 through 9. Sentences 4, 6, and 8 constitute one thematic unit in terms of a paraphrase schema, which is in contrast to another thematic unit (also in terms of paraphrase schema) comprising sentences 5 and 7, and then sentence 9 comes as a conclusion to this contrast. Thus a speaker may develop an argument or explanation by means of an alternation between two contrasting themes.

4.1.3 A comparison between the thematic structure and the grammatical structure may be seen in Figure 3. Sentences 4 through 9 constitute a contrast schema in the thematic structure and a paraphrase paragraph in the grammatical structure.

5. Paragraph structure

Paragraphs in hortatory discourse are grammatical structures which consist of one or more sentences. It is therefore possible to distinguish between simple paragraphs (one sentence) and complex paragraphs (two or more sentences). The question naturally arises then as to how one can distinguish between a sentence and a simple paragraph.

5.1 Simple paragraphs (as well as complex ones) in discourse medial position occur with an optional periphery preceding the nucleus of the paragraph. This periphery consists of a new theme marker, orientation, and vocative slots. The orientation and vocative slots do not occur without the new theme marker slot, so that a general tagmemic formula for medial paragraphs would be:

± (+ New Theme Marker ± Orientation ± Vocative) +Nucleus

5.1.1 A further distinction must be made between embedding (see Section 6) and non-embedding of paragraphs. Non-embedded paragraphs expound the major tagmemic slots of the discourse and occur with obligatory periphery. This coincides with the semantic requirements of the discourse, because the peripheral tagmemes are the surface structure realization of such semantic requirements as cohesion, changes in participant reference, and changes in secondary theme. It was noted earlier that the new theme marker tagmeme not only signals new thematic information, but is also a grammatical device for lending cohesion between the new information and the old. The orientation slot provides the logical circumstances by or in which new thematic information is introduced, and both orientation and vocative slots may introduce new participants into the discourse theme.

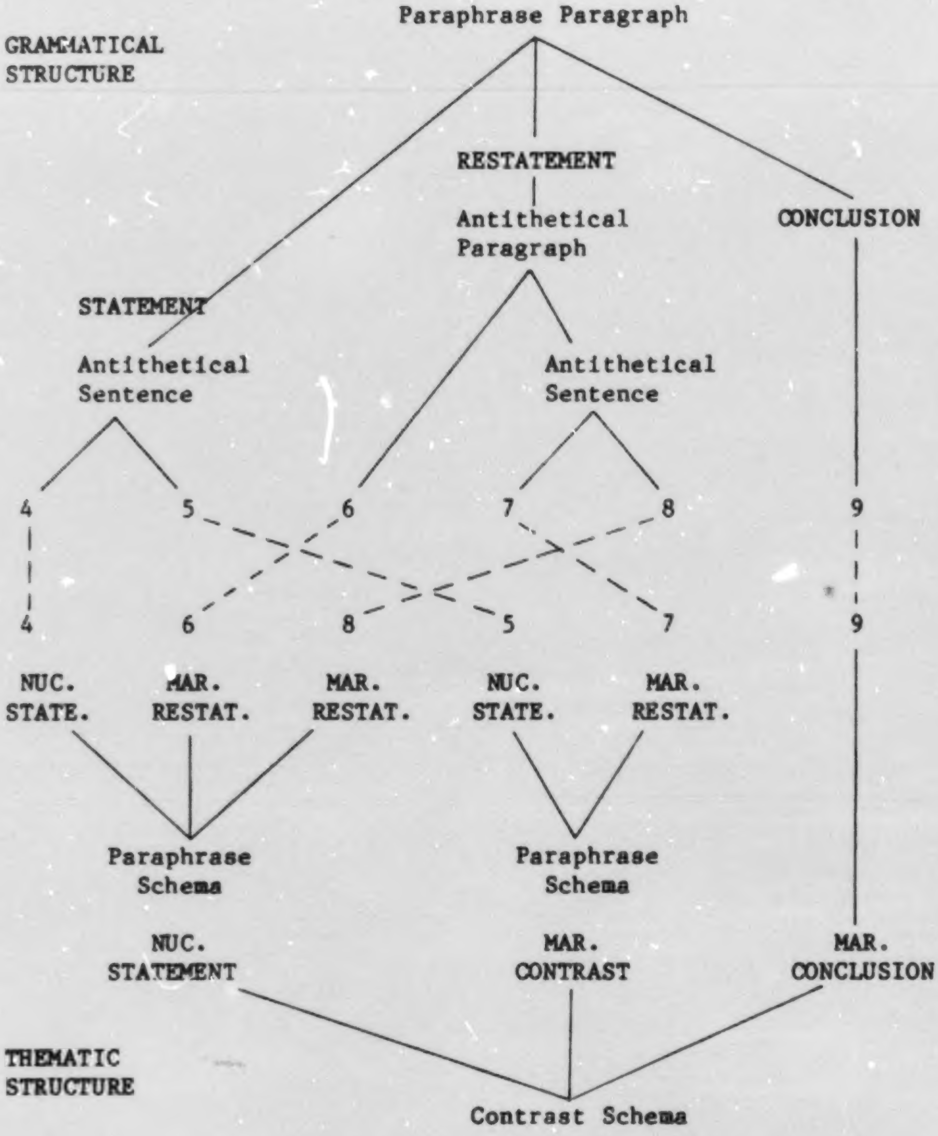


Figure 3. Comparison of thematic and grammatical structure

Embedding is discussed specifically in the following main section. It should, however, be noted here in passing that only rarely do embedded paragraphs occur with periphery. The usual nature of embedded paragraphs is an enlargement of some background aspect of the theme of a preceding paragraph or sentence, and logically would not require the type of introduction provided in non-embedded paragraphs (see however Section 6.2.4).

The fillers of the peripheral tagmeme slots are described as follows: The new theme marker tagmeme is expounded by the phrase A kuman en hapa, meaning literally 'And like that also'. Alternate forms are rare but may occur without one or both of the first or last words. A free translation would be 'And similarly', 'Along the same line', or 'In addition to that'. The orientation tagmeme is expounded by a ya phrase, ta phrase, or emphatic pronoun (like the sentence topic tagmeme in sentence constructions, Mayfield 1972). However, it is not yet clear what governs the choice of exponents between a ya phrase and ta phrase. A tentative analysis is that a ya phrase or emphatic pronoun encodes the orientation tagmeme as the logical circumstance by which new thematic information is introduced, and the ta phrase as the logical circumstance setting in which new thematic information is introduced (see following examples). The vocative tagmeme is expounded either by a personal name, emphatic pronoun, or term of relationship.

Examples:

1.	A kuman en, ya kadwan bidan ku... cj like that SM others tell I	And along that line, another matter I will mention...
2.	A kuman en hapa ta ngamin makmakkwa tekamuy... cj like that also RM all happen you(pl)	And along that line, concerning all that happens to you...
3.	A kuman en ta iko hapa ba-baat... cj like that RM you also old-woman	And along that line, as for you, elder woman...

5.1.2 Simple paragraphs which occur in either initial or final discourse positions do not occur with any peripheral tagmemes. A vocative may occur in initial paragraphs, but this is analyzed as filling a sentence level slot rather than a paragraph slot. Due to the absence of any periphery, other criteria must be cited for distinguishing these as simple paragraphs rather than sentences.

This analysis is based on the assumption (Longacre 1968:53) that sentences do not occur in discourse unattached to any higher level structure, any more than clauses occur unattached to sentences. (Even single clauses may be analyzed as simple sentences.) However, a sentence is not arbitrarily analyzed as a simple paragraph or as part of another paragraph. Where there are no discernable interpropositional relations indicated between adjacent sentences, either by overt connectives or lexical content, they have been analyzed as nuclear constituents of separate paragraphs, even though one or both may be the only constituent. To date, however, no cases have been discovered of two sentences both being the only constituent of adjacent paragraphs. Further support for this analysis of simple (single sentence) paragraph without periphery is the discourse function of such sentences as exponents of the exhortation, conclusion, or finis tagmemes. These exponents show no discernible propositional relation with preceding constructions and either introduce the primary theme (as in the case of the exhortation tagmeme) or are related to the primary theme in a subordinate way by means of summary or concluding remarks.

5.2 In Section 5.1 the basic structure of paragraphs in general was discussed in terms of periphery plus nucleus. The present discussion will focus on some of the major types of complex paragraphs and their nuclear structure.

5.2.1 First of all a further explanation must be given relative to the basic analysis of sentences and paragraphs. In my previous analysis of Agta sentence structure (Mayfield 1972), sentences are shown to consist of a nucleus plus or minus preposed and/or postposed periphery. The clauses which expound the sentence tagmemes occur sequentially, and any post-periphery elements do not interrupt the sequence of clauses in the nucleus. Therefore, examples of a clause following a sentence with a post-subordinate clause have been analyzed as sentences which are expounding paragraph level tagmemes.

The present analysis of the structure of complex paragraphs has followed the theory that 'relations within the paragraph resemble somewhat certain relations within the sentence' (Longacre 1968:53). Paragraphs are therefore designated according to the internal relations. The following paragraph types have been analyzed: elaboration, paraphrase (three subtypes), coordinate, antithetical, and conclusion.

5.2.2 Elaboration paragraph

Elab P =	+ Exhortation	+ Elaboration
	Pseudo-cleft S	Complementary S
	Complementary S	Merged S
		Coordinate S
		Others (?)

Elaboration paragraphs do not occur with a periphery. The exhortation tagmeme is portmanteau with the exhortation tagmeme on the discourse level, and the elaboration tagmeme is portmanteau with either the amplification tagmeme or elaboration point 1 tagmeme on the discourse level.

Example 1.

Exhortation: Pseudo-cleft sentence

Yen ya magbida ak tekamuy, anak ku that SM tell I you(pl) children I ikid ni Enut te awemuy pagkwan anna they AM Enut that not-you(pl) allow-do and magnonot kam ta mappya pettam kuman en think you(pl) RM good so-that like that a mappya. cj good	The reason I am talking to you, my children and Enut (his wife), is that you don't let anything happen and think well so that consequently things will be good.

Elaboration: Merged sentence

Awemuy azapan anna not-you(pl) extinguish and pagsanawan ya pakimallak muy pettam allow-to-cool SM praying you(pl) so-that kuman en awemuy hapa maburungan. like that not-you(pl) also be-worried	Don't extinguish nor cool off your praying so that consequently you won't be worried.

Example 2.

Exhortation: Pseudo-cleft sentence

A yen, aleng, ya nonotam ta mappya, cj that son SM think-you RM good te intu mina parigam ya kuman na iyak ta that it should copy-you SM like AM I RM kawan ku ta atawa. absence I RM spouse	Now, son, what you consider well is that what you should emulate is what I did when I didn't have a wife.

Elaboration: Coordinate sentence

Ipaitam hapa ya mappya ta agyan mina show-you also SM good RM place ought na babbay anna ipaitam ya ngamin tarabakum AM girl and show-you SM all work-you	Show good behaviour to the girl's relatives, and show industry so that as a result the girl will be agreeable if you show your virtue

pettam kuman en, kuman na mamayatan hapa ya
so that like that like AM willing also SM

babbay am ipaitam ngamin na kappyam anna
girl if show-you all AM virtue-you and

tarabakum petta kuman en makanonot
work-you so-that like that considerate

hapa.
also

and industry so that in that way she will be considerate also.

5.2.3 Paraphrase paragraph

Three sub-types of paraphrase paragraphs are distinguished: equivalence, generic-specific, and amplification. Paraphrase constructions are the predominant structures occurring when new secondary themes are introduced. These constructions are usually paragraphs, but the same deep structure meaning is encoded by paraphrase on the clause and sentence level. This is the normal grammatical device used for giving prominence to the speaker's choice of new secondary theme. Further functions of paraphrase are: (1) to add new information not stated in the initial statement, and in so doing slow down the information rate; (2) to emphasize by means of opposition or contrast; and (3) to clarify old information. All paraphrase paragraphs may occur with preposed periphery tagmemes.

5.2.3.1 Equivalence paragraph

EqP =	+ Statement	+ Equivalence
	Simple S	Simple S
	Others (?)	Others (?)

The nuclear tagmemes of equivalence paragraphs are expounded by sentences with identical lexical predications.

Example 1 (preposed periphery not included).

Statement: Simple sentence

Pakappyan muy ya nonot muy te
improve you SM mind you(pl) for

maba-bayag ak para la.
long-time I yet just

Gird-up your minds because I will be a little longer yet.

Equivalence: Simple sentence

Pakappyan muy ya nonot muy te
improve you(pl) SM mind you(pl) for

maba-bayag ak para la pettam kuman en a
long-time I yet only so-that like that cj

amu muy ta itta ak para la tekamuy
know you(pl) RM exis I yet just you(pl)

magtabarang.
advice

Gird-up your minds because I will be a little longer yet, so that as a result you will know that I am still with you giving counsel.

Example 2.

Statement: Simple sentence

Pakimallak ta kam hapa te amuk ta
pray we(du) you also for know-I RM

mazigatan kam.
hard-pressed you(pl)

I pray for you because I know that you are in hardship.

Equivalence: Simple sentence

A pakimallak ta kam hapa ta intu
cj pray we(du) you also RM it

mina i Hesus ya makkamu tekamuy ta adangan
should SM Jesus SM know you(pl) RM ask

muy pettam kuman en awemuy hapa
you(pl) so-that like that not-you(pl) also

mazigatan anna awemuy hapa
hard-pressed and not-you(pl) also

magamamangaw anna awemuy hapa magburung
do-irrational and not-you(pl) also worry

ta ngamin.
RM all

I pray for you that He, Jesus, will be the one responsible for you concerning your requests so that as a result you will not be in hardship, and you won't do anything irrational, and you won't worry about anything.

5.2.3.2 Generic-specific paragraph

G-SP =	+ Statement	+ Specification
	Simple S	Simple S
	Other (?)	Other (?)

Example.

Statement: Simple sentence

A awemuy hapa magburung te i
cj not-you(pl) also worry for SM

Hesus hapa ya makkamu mangilillik tekid
Jesus also SM responsible detour them

Namaratu hapa la ya makkamu
Creator also just SM responsible/know

Don't you worry because Jesus will be the one responsible to detour them. God himself will be responsible.

Specification: Simple sentence

Awemuy azin ya pagtalak muy ta
not-you remove SM trust you(pl) RM

Dios te awan ta takwan na pakimallakan
God for none RM another AM prayer-place

tam am bakkan ta Namaratu ikid ni Hesus.
we(in) if not RM Creator they AM Jesus

Don't let-go of your trust in God because we have no one else to pray to except God and Jesus.

5.2.3.3 Amplification paragraph

Amp =	+ Statement	+ Amplification
	Antithetical par.	Antithetical par.
	Others (?)	Others (?)

Example 1.

Statement: Antithetical paragraph

Ikami mina aleng ya makkamu mangita ta
we(ex) ought son SM know look RM

kappyanam pettam kuman en a mappya
welfare-you so-that like that cj good

Son, we should be the ones responsible to look after your interests so that as a result it will be good, but whatever you think. If you are

mina, ammi kompormi ya uray mu. Am iko
ought but whatever SM opinion you if you

hapa ya kuman na maguray a awek amu am
also SM like AM go-alone cj not-I know if

gustu sangaw ya paguray mu.
right later SM going-alone you

the one to go on your own I'm not sure your independent action will be appropriate.

Amplification: Antithetical paragraph

Mappya mina ta ikami ya maguray
good ought RM we(ex) SM go-alone

pettam kuman en mapili mi mina ya
so-that like that choose we(ex) ought SM

mappya na nonot te am angarigan sangaw ta
good AM mind for if example later RM

iko ya maguray a kuman sangaw na nekayat na
you SM go-alone cj like later AM liked it

kabbit ta ayan in ta araw in lakwat
pinch RM now this RM day this tomorrow

nagtugutan na kan te amum haman te
left it you for know-you afterall that

ikon ya maguray, ammi am ikami mina ya
you-now SM go-alone but if we(ex) ought SM

mangipapilit teko, Ay mappya te
urge-acceptance you oh good that

nepapilit da haman ya anak da en
urged they afterall SM child they that

teyak a awek mina pagtugutan, kunna hapa
I cj not-I ought leave say-it also

na babbay teko.
AM girl you

It would be best that we be the ones to take the initiative so that as a result we can choose one who has a good attitude/character, but if for instance you will be the one to go on your own it will be as though she wants to latch on to you now, today, but tomorrow she has gone off and left you, because you know that you acted all on your own. However, if we should be the ones to urge your acceptance then the girl will say, "Oh, its good that they urged me to accept their son, so I shouldn't leave him."

5.2.4 Coordinate paragraph

CoorP = + Statement^1 + Statement^2
Simple S Simple S
Others (?) Others (?)

Coordinate paragraphs consist of sentences joined together by apposition, with the Statement^2 tagmeme exponent occurring with one or two lexical elements which mark cohesion with Statement^1; An optional conjunction A introduces Statement^2, indicating additional comment on the theme; the postpredicate adverb hapa 'also' occurs obligatorily indicating addition; and one or more clause level tagmemes are expounded by lexical elements which occur in the Statement^1.

Example 1.

Statement^1

Am awena a emmuy la bit
if not-he cj go-you(pl) just brief

ilogot ihulhulun huluman ta itewan
disappoint go-with accompany RM there

pettam mapenam, petta am kapenam na
so-that accustomed so-that if accustomed he

sangaw ta sakaanak na kidina ta kuman
later RM fellow-child he they-there RM like

en ta mangituldu ina awenan sangaw
that RM teacher there not-he later

ikamat yana.
be-ashamed that

If he doesn't want to, then you all just disregard him and take him, go with him over there so he'll get used to it, so that when he has gotten accustomed to his fellow-children there, the same to his teacher, then he'll not be ashamed anymore.

Statement^2

A pakimallak mu hapa petta ufunan na
cj pray-for you also so-that help AM

Namaratu pettam awena mamat hapa
Creator so-that not-he shy also

makiatubang ta kagitta na anak kuman en
face RM equals he child like that

hapa ta mangituldu ina tekid.
also RM teacher there them

And also pray for him so that God will help him so he won't be shy either to stand up in front of his fellow-children, the same to the one teaching them.

5.2.5 Antithetical paragraph

AntP =	+ Thesis	+ Adversative[11]	+ Antithesis
	Simple S	ammi 'but'	Clarification par.
	Complementary S	te 'but'/	Quotation S
	Antithetical S	'because'	Antithetical par.

Example 1.

Thesis: Simple sentence

Ikami mina aleng ya makkamu mangita ta
we(ex) ought son SM know look RM

kappyanam pettam kuman en a mappya
welfare-you so-that like that cj good

mina.
ought

Son, we should be the ones responsible to look after your interests so that it will be good.

Adversative: ammi

Antithesis: Clarification paragraph

Kompormi ya uray mu, am iko hapa ya
whatever SM opinion you if you also SM

kuman na maguray a awek amu am gustu
like AM go-alone cj not-I know if right

sangaw ya paguray mu.
later SM going-alone you

However, whatever you think, if you are the one to go on your own I'm not sure your independent action will turn out alright.

Example 2.

Thesis: Complementary sentence

Mappya mina ta ikami ya maguray
good ought RM we(ex) SM go-alone

pettam kuman en mapili mi mina ya mappya
so-that like that choose we ought SM good

na nonot.
AM mind

It would be best that we be the ones to take the initiative so that we can choose one with a good attitude/character.

Adversative: te

Antithesis: Antithetical paragraph

Am angarigan ta iko ya maguray a kuman
if example RM you SM go-alone cj like

sangaw na nekayat na kabbit ta ayan in ta
later AM liked it pinch RM now this RM

araw in yan, lakwat nagtugutan na kan te
day this this tomorrow left it you for

amum te ikon ya maguray. Ammi am
know-you that you-now SM go-alone but if

ikami mina ya mangipapilit teko, Ay
we(ex) ought SM urge-acceptance you oh

mappya te nepapilit da haman ya anak
good that urged they afterall SM child

da en teyak a awek mina pagtugutan,
they that I cj not-I ought leave

kunna hapa na babbay teko.
say-it also AM girl you

However, if for example you go on your own it will be like she wants to latch on to you now, today, but tomorrow she has left you, because as you know you acted on your own. However, if we should be the ones to urge your acceptance then the girl will say, "Oh, its good that they urged their son upon me, so I shouldn't leave him."

5.2.6 Conclusion paragraph

ConP =	+ Thesis	+ Conclusion
	Reason S	Simple S
	Others (?)	Others (?)

Example:

Thesis: Reason sentence

Itan muy ya pake kazigat tam, on
look you(pl) SM very hardship we(in) yes

te awan ta amu tam.
because none RM know we(ex)

See how extremely destitute we are, that's right, because we don't know anything.

Conclusion: Simple sentence

A yen ka mina ya nonotan, anak ku
cj that you ought SM think child I

So you should think about that, my son.

6. Embedding

In this section embedding is discussed only as it involves paragraph or discourse structures expounding sentence or paragraph level tagmemes. Sentence level tagmemes have been found occurring with either paragraph or discourse exponents. The only embedding found in paragraph level tagmemes, however, is by another paragraph.

6.1 Embedding of paragraph structures is shown in Figure 4 by a tree diagram of the following text example.

1. Ikami mina aleng ya makkamu
we(ex) ought son SM able-know

mangita ta kappyanam 2. pettam kuman en
look RM welfare-you so-that like that

a mappya mina 3. ammi kompormi ya uray
cj good ought but whatever SM opinion

mu, 4. am iko hapa ya kuman na maguray, 5. a
you if you also SM like AM go-alone cj

awek amu am gustu sangaw ya paguray mu.
not-I know if right later SM going-alone you

6. Mappya mina ta ikami ya maguray
good ought RM we(ex) SM go-alone

7. pettam kuman en mapili mi mina ya
so-that like that choose we ought SM

mappya na nonot. 8. Te am angarigan sangaw
good AM mind but if example later

ta iko ya maguray 9. a kuman sangaw na
RM you SM go-alone cj like later AM

nekayat na kabbit ta ayanin, ta araw in
liked it pinch RM now RM day this

1. Son, we ought to be the ones responsible to look after your interests, 2. so that as a result it will be good, 3. but whatever is your opinion, 4. if you are the one to go on your own, 5. I'm not sure your independent action will turn out alright. 6. It would be best that we be the ones to take the initiative 7. so that we can choose one with a good attitude/character. 8. However, if for example you go on your own, 9. it will be like she wants to latch on to you now, today, 10. but tomorrow she has left you, 11. because as you know you acted on your own. 12. However, if we should be the ones to urge your acceptance, 13. the girl will say, "Oh, its nice that they

yan, 10. lakwat nagtugutan na kan,
this tomorrow leave it you-now

11. te amum te ikon ya maguray.
for know-you that you SM go-alone

12. Ammi am ikami mina ya mangipapilit
but if we(ex) ought SM urge-acceptance

teko, 13. Ay mappya te nepapilit da
you oh good that urged they

haman ya anak da en teyak, 14. a
afterall SM child they that I cj

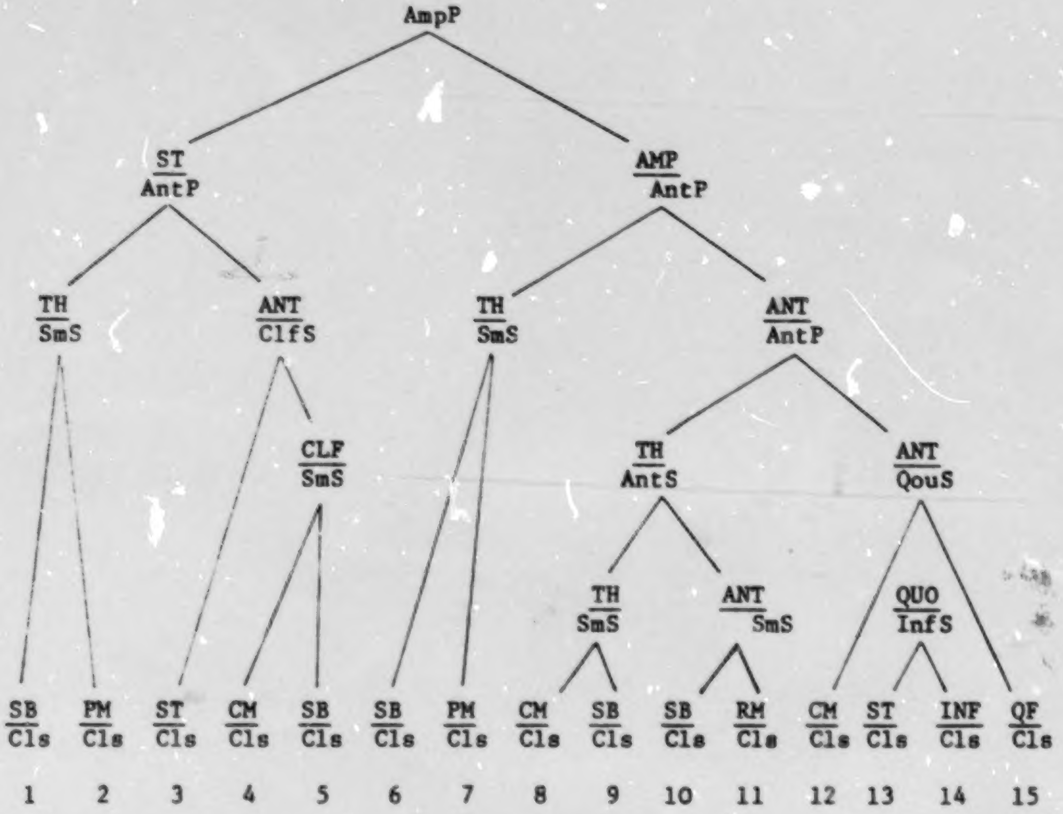
awek mina pagtugutan kunna sangaw na
not-I ought leave say-it later AM

babbay teko.
girl you

urged their son upon me,
14. so I shouldn't leave
him."

6.2 The embedding of discourse structures occurs only in sentence level tagmemes, particularly the final nuclear tagmeme of the sentence. They may occur in dependent as well as independent sentences. The structure of embedded discourses found in the material analyzed is extremely abbreviated in comparison to non-embedded discourse, and there is a corresponding reduction in the kind and number of constituents. There are, however, certain surface level features which mark the beginning of an embedded discourse. These features in effect mark primary thematicity for the content of structures which begin the embedded discourse. The primary theme of the embedded discourse is not necessarily a new theme. Often it is a continuation of the theme of the immediately preceding clause or sentence, but elevated to a higher degree of thematicity by the aforementioned features (discussed below). The marking of primary thematicity within the body of a discourse is in effect marking an embedded discourse.

6.2.1 Devices which mark primary thematicity (and thus embedding) within a discourse vary depending upon the type of structure in which a discourse is embedded as well as its own internal structure. The three most common devices observed involve intonation, linkage, and performative structures.



Structure symbols

AmpP = Amplification paragraph
AntP = Antithetical paragraph
Clfs = Clarification sentence
AntS = Antithetical sentence
QuoS = Direct quotation sentence
InfS = Inferential sentence
SmS = Simple sentence
Cls = Clause (numbers refer to clauses numbered in text example)

Tagmeme symbols

ST = Statement
AMP = Amplification
TH = Thesis
ANT = Antithesis
CLF = Clarification
QUO = Quotation

PM = Purpose margin
RM = Reason margin
CM = Condition margin
INF = Inference
QF = Quotation formula
SB = Sentence base

Figure 4. Embedding in amplification paragraph

6.2.2 Embedded discourses begin with the strong voice and intonation contour typical of opening discourse. This sets them in sharp contrast with the immediately preceding structure which have the low voice and descending intonation contour characteristic of closure (even though the grammatical structure is not at the closure point).

6.2.3 Where embedded discourses occur in the final nuclear tagmeme slot of independent sentences, the semantic relationship with the preceding nuclear tagmeme is usually of a type that would be indicated by an appropriate connecting linkage. It is the absence of this surface linkage that marks discourse embedding. Grimes states that 'In a system that makes extensive use of linkages it is the absence of a linkage clause that catches the hearer's attention; this ASYNDETON or break in the sequence may be used to signal a change of scene or a shift of participants or a transition to background information or even a point of special emphasis' (1975:96).

Example 1. Embedded discourse as exponent of the antithesis tagmeme in an antithetical sentence (discourse occurs in brackets, numbering pertains to tree diagram in Figure 5):

(1) a magburung kam de hapa
and worried you(pl) maybe also

teyak. [(2) Awemuy la burungan, (3)
I not-you(pl) just worry

te (4) uhohugan ku haman yan tekamuy: (5)
for speak I ? this you(pl)

ya Dios la ikid ni Hesus ya nonotan muy.
SM God only they AM Jesus SM think you(pl)

(6) Awemuy nonotan ya takwan na nonot,
not-you(pl) think SM another AM thought

(7) pattam kuman en a mappya hapa ya
so-that like that cj good also SM

pagyan tam am nonotan tam i Hesus.]
dwell we(in) if think we(in) SM Jesus

...(1) and maybe you are worried about me. (2) Don't worry about it, (3) because (4) I tell you this: (5) God and Jesus are the only ones you think about. (6) Don't have any other thoughts, (7) so that as a result our situation will be good if we think about Jesus.

In addition to the intonational features described in Section 6.2.2, the embedded discourse in this case, obviously begins on a note of contrast with the preceding clause, 'Maybe you are worried about me' vs. 'Don't worry about it...' These are analyzed as exponents of a thesis and antithesis tagmeme in an antithetical sentence. Notice, however, the absence of any connecting linkage between the clauses where we would normally expect ammi 'but'. This lends support to Grimes' proposal that the absence of the appropriate linkage plus the abrupt intonation in effect gives prominence to the theme of the preceding context, (in this case, 'worry') and gives it a higher degree of thematicity with the added information of negation, thus constituting an embedded discourse.

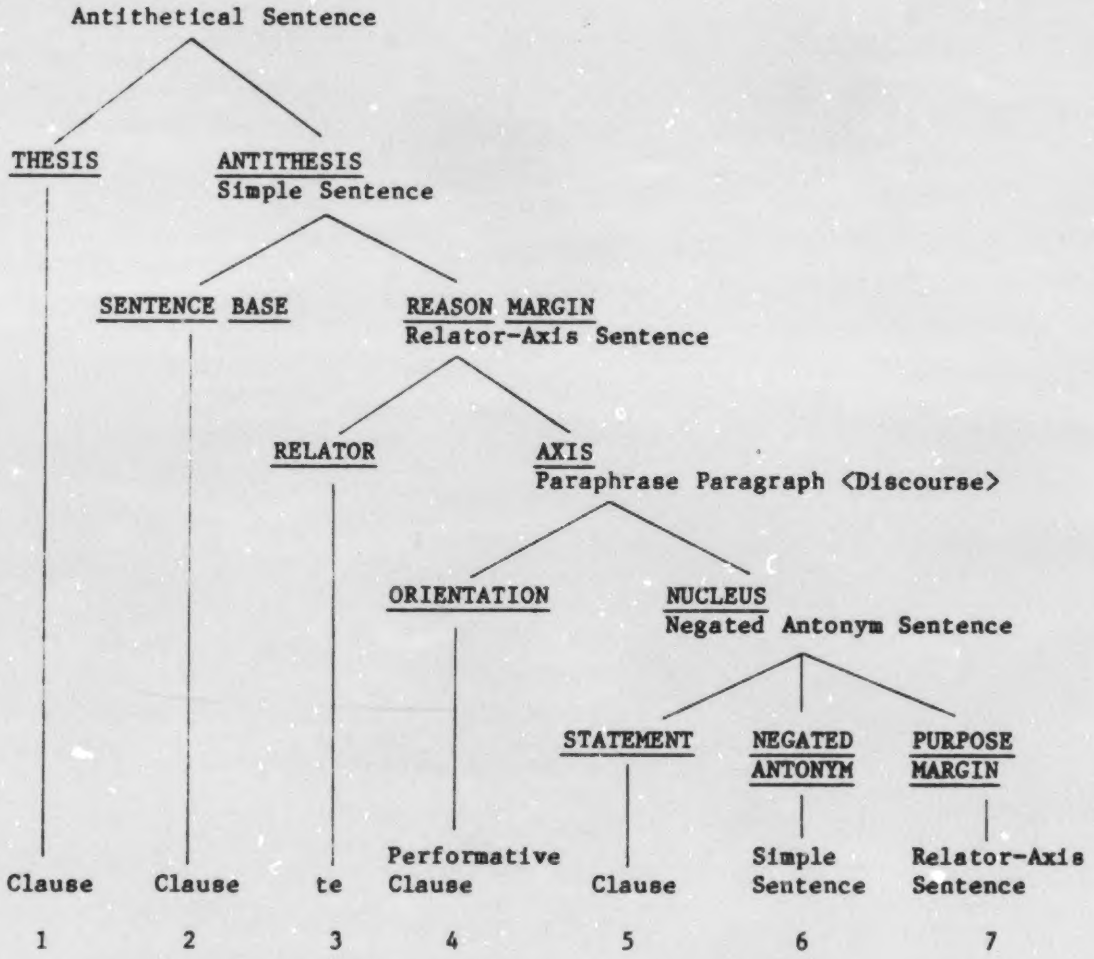


Figure 5. Relations and structure of embedded discourse

6.2.4 Embedded discourses may also occur as the exponent of a dependent clause nucleus. Such cases usually involve the introduction of a new theme, because in dependent clauses (reason and purpose margins in our material), the embedded material provides argumentative or logical support to the main clause. Normally themes in dependent clauses are given low prominence in Agta. If, however, a speaker wishes to emphasize such themes and elevate them for discourse purposes, he will commonly use a performative clause,[12] such as 'I say to you', 'I tell you', or 'I ask you'. Example 1 in Section 6.2.3 illustrates such a usage. The reason margin of the antithesis tagmeme exponent is a dependent clause marked by *te* 'because'. The words *uhohugan ku haman yan tekamuy* 'I say this to you' function as a performative clause giving prominence to what follows as the theme of the embedded discourse.[13] Figure 5 is a tree diagram display of the tagmeme structure of the above example showing the relationship and structure of the embedded discourses.

Example 2.

(1) Itta ak para la tekamuy
exis I still just you(pl)

magtabarang. (2) A awena ta intu itabarang
give-counsel cj not-it RM it counsel

ku ya dulay awa ya kappyanan muy mina ya
I SM bad but SM welfare you(pl) ought SM

nagtugutan mi pettam kuman en a
left we(ex) so-that like that cj

mappya ngamin ya madatangan ku. Awan mina ta
good all SM arrive-at I none ought RM

madatangan ku ta dulay tekamuy, te mappya
arrive-at I RM bad you(pl) for good

ngamin ya datangan ku tekamuy pettam kuman
all SM arrive I you(pl) so-that like

en matalak napa ya Namaratu anna i Hesus
that pleased also SM Creator and SM Jesus

tekitam.
we(in)

(1) I am still with you giving counsel. (2) It is not that my counsel is bad (i.e. to trouble you) but rather it is meant to be for your welfare that we left, so that as a result what I come home to will be all good. I should not have to come home to trouble among you, but on the contrary I (want to) come home to everything all right with you, so that as a result God and Jesus will be pleased with us.

Sentences 1 and 2 are the exponents of the thesis and antithesis tagmemes respectively of this antithetical sentence. Sentence 2 begins the embedded discourse marked again by discourse initial intonation, and the absence of the normal contrasting linkage *ammi* 'but'. Note also the continuity of theme 'giving counsel', which is given prominence by the devices just mentioned.

Example 3.

Kuman en hapa iko, Ginyamor, (1) a
like that also you Ginyamor cj

pakappyam hapa ya nonot mu anna mangitug ta
improve also SM mind you and fasten RM

pagbasam pettam kuman en hapa (2) Afu a
study-you so-that like that also Lord cj

makimallak ak, Afu kunku te i Hesus ya
pray I Lord say-I for SM Jesus SM

Afu pagkinan ku. A iko mina Hesus ya
Lord say-about I cj you ought Jesus SM

makkamu te Ginyamor te ituldum ta mappya
able-know RM Ginyamor for teach-you RM good

pettam kuman en awena mina hapa metawag
so-that like that not-he ought also be-lost

mangbasa ta pabasa na mangituldu tentu.
study RM give-study AM teach he

Along the same line, you, Ginyamor, (1) gird-up your mind and fasten down your studies so that as a result also (2) Lord, I pray, (I say Lord, because Jesus is the Lord I mean), you, Jesus should be the one responsible for Ginyamor and teach him well so that as a result he will not get lost studying whatever his teacher gives him to study.

Here sentence 2 begins an embedded discourse in the nucleus of the dependent clause marked by pettam kuman en hapa 'so-that like that also'. As in the first example involving a dependent clause (Section 6.2.3), the speaker here also begins with a performative clause 'Lord I pray...', thus again giving prominence to a new theme. Not only is there a shift in theme but also in participants, because the speaker is no longer addressing his son, but rather Jesus, in the form of a prayer.

APPENDIX: SAMPLE TEXT 2

1. A kuman en ya mabidak tekamuy,
cj like that SM tell-I you(pl)

Amboy ikid ni Marita, te awemuy tapilan
Amboy they AM Marita for not-you(pl) fight

ya hina muy ta kawan kin, pettam
SM mother you(pl) RM absence I-here so-that

kuman en a amuk haman ta mappya kam
like that cj know-I ? RM good you(pl)

And similarly what I tell you, Amboy and Marita, is that you do not quarrel with your mother while I'm gone, so that as a result I'll know that you intend to be good to her because after all you are all her children.

mina tentu te anak na kam haman.
ought her for children AM you(pl) ?

2. A mappya mina iddukan muy mina
cj good ought love you(pl) ought

te hina muy.
for mother you(pl)

So it would be good that you should love her because she's your mother.

3. A kuman en hapa ya ibar ku a idob
cj like that also SM tell I cj send

muy la idob i Beka en magbasa
you(pl) just send SM Rebecca that study

pettam kuman en makabasa hapa anna
so-that like that able-study also and

makaadal hapa ta mappya pettam kuman en
able-learn also RM good so-that like that

awena mina megitta tekitam awan ta amu.
not-it ought be-like we(in) none RM know

Another thing I have to tell you is that you must send Rebecca to school so that as a result she'll be able to study and also be able to learn, so that as a result she will not become like us who don't know anything.

4. A kuman en hapa ya mabidak teko
cj like that also SM tell-I you

Lantakan am pagkakalasigan muy am
Lantakan if take-back-forth you(pl) if

magkakalasig ya hina muy tekamuy a
go-back-forth SM mother you(pl) you(pl) cj

awemuy hapa tapilan Lantakan ikamuy ni
not-you(pl) also fight Lantakan you(pl) AM

Lali, pettam kuman en awan ta amuk ta
Lali so-that like that none RM know-I RM

datangan na am awa ikamuy te ikamuy haman
go-home it if not you(pl) for you(pl) ?

ya anak na.
SM children it

And another thing also I have to tell you, Lantakan, is if you (pl) take her back and forth, if your mother goes back and forth between you all then don't quarrel with her, Lantakan, you and Lali, so that as a result I'll know she is not going home to anyone but you (pl), because after all you are her children.

5. A addun yen na tabarang ku tekamuy,
cj much that AM advice I you(pl)

a itug muy mina ta mappya, pettam
cj fasten you(pl) ought RM good so-that

kuman en mappya mina ya pangwa muy ta
like that good ought SM doing you(pl) RM

hina muy ina.
mother you there

Now that's a lot that I have advised you about, so fasten it down real well (take it to heart) so that as a result your treatment of your mother will be good.

6. Ay yen la ya abat na mabidak
cj that just SM and AM tell-I

tekamuy.
you(pl)

There, that's the end of what I have to tell you.

NOTES

[1] Agta is the name, both for the Negrito race of people inhabiting the central region of Cagayan Province, Philippines, and for their language.

[2] The research underlying this paper was carried out at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, Philippines) in a discourse research workshop under the direction of Michael Walrod. The author is indebted to Michael Walrod and Evan Antworth for the basic concepts and techniques involved in discourse research, and to the former for many helpful suggestions in writing this paper.

[3] Their system is based on that devised by Keith Forster (1977).

[4] In Beekman and Callow's analysis (1974:290), these subordinate clauses typically have one of the relations listed under 'Support by Argument'.

[5] An analysis of Agta sentence structure may be found in Mayfield (1972). Additional sentence types have been analyzed subsequent to this publication.

[6] In the Agta orthography used here hyphen (-) represents glottal stop and ng represents the velar nasal consonant. Stress though contrastive is not symbolized. Vowel clusters are pronounced with an intervocalic glottal stop.

[7] The symbols used in the literal translation have the following meanings: SM-subject marker, AM-attributive marker, RM-referent marker, cj-conjunction, pl-plural, in-inclusive, ex-exclusive, du-dual, exis-existential.

[8] Refer to Section 4.1.1 for discussion on thematic function of pseudo-cleft sentences.

[9] 'To define paragraphs and sections in terms of schema relations is harmonious with the intuition that these units ought to be defined in terms of thematic organization. Thus, a schema with its one theme spans either a paragraph or a section. Conversely, the paragraph or section is organized around that schema and dominated by its theme. When a new schema with a new theme begins, so does a new paragraph or section' (Jones 1977:152).

[10] Sample Text 1 is an analyzed text according to the discourse tagmemes, their function, and class filler. Tagmeme designation and function appear in capitals, class fillers appear in lower case letters. Indentation of nucleus-point tagmemes indicate constructions on a lower level from margin tagmeme. Thus the nucleus-point tagmemes constitute the tagmemic structure of the detail schema. Slash marks (/) indicate the dual nature of exponent structures.

[11] We have not yet determined the conditions governing the occurrence of these connectives. They are not mutually substitutable.

[12] 'Is it possible to shift performative verbs within the interior of a monologue discourse? I believe that this is possible, but that when such a shift occurs it indicates the presence of embedded discourses (utterances) each of which has its own performative verb associated with it, or it tells us that the whole discourse is a compound discourse the two or more parts of which are discourses in their own right' (Longacre 1976:254).

[13] It will be noted in Section 3.1.1 that the examples which expound the exhortation tagmeme of a non-embedded discourse are also a type of performative.

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THE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF TAGBANWA[1] DISCOURSE

Peter Green
Summer Institute of Linguistics

1. Introduction
1.1 Relation between semantic structure and grammatical structure
1.2 Purpose of this paper
2. Methodology
2.1 Discourse genre
2.2 Types of displays used in their analysis
3. Results
3.1 Discourse-structure
3.2 Backbone
3.3 Theme
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1. Introduction

1.1 Relationship between semantic structure and grammatical structure

Behind every grammatical utterance in any language there is a meaning. If an utterance doesn't mean anything it is not accepted as a useful part of a language. Meaning is a universal. It is as universal as the real world around us. As a newborn baby growing up in the real world we concentrate on meaning, not only the meaning of speech but also of actions and other real world entities we observe around us. For instance, when a mother picks up her baby, cradles it in her arms, and puts the end of a feeding bottle into its mouth it can understand the meaning behind her words long before it can systematically analyze the morphemes, words, and sentence structure of her utterance when she says 'I'm going to give you your bottle now.' Meaning is broader in scope than the language usually used to encode it as we can convey meaning without the use of words sometimes by a gesture, for instance, or a facial expression.

By far the most common expression of meaning, however, is by means of the grammatical structure of a language. Grammatical structures are language specific. No two languages have identical grammatical structures, although the meaning to be conveyed is universal, given the same social and cultural contexts. So people in Paris, New York, and Rio de Janeiro all live in very similar real world situations and thus have, to a large extent, the same things to talk about, the same meaning to encode, but the surface or grammatical structure of the languages they use is very different. However, although a person living deep in some tropical rain forest will have a different grammatical structure with which to express things, he will never need to talk about some of the things the Frenchman, American, and Brazilian talk about, e.g. how to program a computer or how to dispose of nuclear waste effectively and harmlessly. But this limitation in what the forestdweller wants to talk about is imposed only by the difference in the real world around him. The true universal is that everyone talks about the real world of which he is aware. This applies to everyone everywhere regardless of their geographical location. Given the same real world situation, people will have the same inventory of things for which to encode meanings. There is a wide variation of grammatical structures, however, with which to encode those meanings.

1.2 The purpose of this paper

On the semantic stratum of language we describe things using such terms as theme, subtheme, interpropositional relations, propositions, and concepts. We want to know what the speaker's intention is, how his primary theme is developed, and whether or not his speech act has significance. We are interested in the theme line of his discourse and such things as its discourse-structure and internal grouping of constituents. In this paper we begin at this semantic stratum of language and sketch how Tagbanwa encodes this information in the surface structure of various discourse genre.

2. Methodology

2.1 Discourse genre

Following Forster (1977) the position taken in this paper is that there are four major discourse genre, namely narrative, expository, behavioral, and procedural. Narrative and behavioral are agent oriented while procedural and expository are not. Then again, in narrative and procedural the linkage is chronological while in behavioral and expository the linkage is conceptual or logical. There are various subtypes under each major genre which are arrived at by applying such criteria as projected time versus nonprojected time, and tension versus nontension.

In analyzing discourse, one must take into account the intention of the speaker, which has to do with the kind of speech act involved. As has been brought out in Hale and Gieser (1977) 'A discourse type is a formal strategy for the performance of speech acts, but no unique one-to-one relationship between speech acts and discourse type can easily be supported. It is obvious, for example, that narrative discourse frequently serves as a vehicle for a hortatory speech act.' Presumably, though, the authors would still classify this as a narrative discourse the purpose of which is to exhort. Longacre (1972:section 1.7 as found in Brend

(1974:361)) has said, '... the linkage within narrative and procedural is chronological linkage. This is more important than the particular stuff of the given paragraphs that make up the narrative discourse. A narrative discourse actually may have very few narrative paragraphs but if the paragraphs are arranged in chronological order, we still have a story rather than an essay.'

One more thing to be aware of in determining the genre of a given discourse is the possibility (and even probability) of mixed genre. In other words there may be embedded discourses of a different genre than the one in which they are embedded. If these form the bulk of the discourse they tend to make the discourse look like an example of a genre quite different from what it actually is. This is the problem treated in the next subsection.

2.1.1 Behavioral versus procedural genre

According to Forster's (1977) classification, behavioral discourse genre is agent oriented and procedural is not. But how does one decide whether a given text is agent oriented or not? If the procedural is a 'how-to-do' kind then, in Tagbanwa, both it and a hortatory behavioral discourse will be oriented to the second person singular and will be developed by verbs which that person is to perform.

For Tagbanwa the difference between behavioral and procedural discourses can be determined by two criteria:

a) The first criterion is whether or not the verbs are conditioned by any 'softening devices'. Commands given in present tense rather than imperative can be considered softened, as can imperatives preceded by such things as 'I'd like you to...' or 'It would be good if...' It can be said that Tagbanwa hortatory discourses are generally developed by verbs in the present tense while Tagbanwa 'how-to-do' procedural discourses are generally developed by imperatives. This fits in with Philippine culture in which smooth interpersonal relationships and avoidance of open conflict are of paramount importance. An exhortation couched in present tense rather than the imperative form is far less jarring to the recipient and is thus much more socially acceptable. In addition each command is padded with a lot of preamble and supporting reasons why the advice should be followed. A command in the present tense also has more of a durative application than an imperative which would have more of a punctiliar application. In behavioral discourse the speaker desires his advice to be followed as a way of life rather than on one specific occasion. In contrast, the steps enumerated in a procedural discourse would be applicable only on those occasions when the hearer is attempting to achieve the particular goal being discussed in the discourse.

b) The second criterion for distinguishing Tagbanwa behavioral discourse from procedural is how the information in the aperture section is presented. Generally the aperture of a behavioral discourse in Tagbanwa orients the hearer to a state of affairs already in existence or which will come into existence in the near future. The advice, then, is directed to how the hearer is to conduct himself in this real life situation which is either upon him or imminent. The aperture of a 'how-to-do' procedural discourse, on the other hand, speaks only of a hypothetical situation and the instructions following would be relevant only if that situation became a reality.

So, in the Tagbanwa discourse entitled 'Advice to a newly married couple' the aperture states, 'Well now, you're married now,' and the speaker proceeds to exhort the couple as to how they are to act habitually now that they are in this situation. In the discourse entitled 'Advice to a son on the eve of his departure,' the aperture states,'Well now, you'll be going soon,' and the advice following is aimed at telling him how to conduct his life in that imminent situation.

In contrast, the apertures of 'how-to-do' procedural discourses posit hypothetical situations with such opening sentences as 'If, for example...'; 'If there's a person who has lied to you...'; 'If you want to collect some anibung wood...'; 'If you don't have a backpack but want to get some almasiga...'

Sometimes confusion arises because a discourse of one genre contains an embedded discourse of another genre. A certain speaker of Tagbanwa was asked what he would say to exhort a person in two given situations. In both cases what resulted was a procedural discourse telling how to exhort the respective persons in the respective situations given. What had been desired was two behavioral discourses of the hortatory subtype. By application of the criteria mentioned above, however, it became readily apparent that the discourses were procedural with embedded behavioral discourses containing the actual exhortations.

2.1.2 Narrative versus expository genre

It's true that in the overt type of expository discourse the material is linked logically rather than chronologically and that it is subject matter oriented rather than agent oriented. This can clearly be seen in the discourse displayed in Figure 1.

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
1	From the time of our ancestors	we've always built our houses like that;	there is always a raised floor.
2	If there's no floor, because it's just at ground level	many creatures can enter there.	
3			With some creatures it's really painful if they bite. Like snakes or centipedes.
4	And also, if the roof is not good, (if it rains) if it leaks onto the dirt	it'll get muddy.	
5	But if it's there on a wooden floor, even if it leaks onto it	it'll get wet but not muddy.	
6		That's the reason	why Tagbanwa houses always have a raised floor.

Figure 1. Expository discourse 'Why houses are built off the ground'

There are other discourses, however, which at first sight would appear to be examples of narrative genre but which, on closer examination, might turn out to be a less overt kind of expository discourse. One such example in the Tagbanwa data is displayed in Figure 2.

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
1		Arsena has believed now	because she had a dream.
2	(This is what happened in the dream.)		
3		She was walking.	

Figure 2. Expository discourse 'Why Arsena believed' (con't. next page)

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
4	When she had been walking a long time	she arrived at a house.	
5	After she arrived at the house	there was a person.	
6		He said, 'Come with me up above.'	
7		They went up now.	There was like a stairway on which they walked.
8	When they were there now above	there was a person there	who was old.
9		He said, 'Look at where those who haven't believed go.'	
10	After they went there	there was a stairway that people were stepping on.	
11	As long as you step there	there are sharp things sticking out.	
12			That now is where those who didn't believe go.
13	And there up above	there was a beautiful house	to which they climbed up.
14	All the ones who had believed	she saw there.	
15	After arriving there	there was a person who said, 'Believe in God because if you don't believe you'll certainly go to the fire.'	
16		That's the reason	why Arsena believed.

Figure 2. An expository discourse which resembles narrative 'Why Arsena believed'

A similarity can be seen between the first and last sentences of this discourse and the first and last sentences of 'Why houses are built off the ground' (see Figure 3).

	Why Arsena believed	Why houses are built off the ground
First Sent.	Arsena has believed now because she had a dream.	From the time of our ancestors we've always built houses like that; there is always a raised floor.
Last Sent.	That's the reason why Arsena believed.	That's the reason why Tagbanwa houses always have a raised floor.

Figure 3. Initial and final sentences of two expository discourses

The first sentence of each states a fact and the last sentence summarizes the foregoing material by saying that it represents the reason why that fact is so. This is a logical structure for an expository discourse. However, in 'Why Arsena believed' the material between the first and last sentences is a story giving the contents of the dream. Therefore this discourse looks like a narrative. Because of the parallel function of the first and last sentences of these two discourses, though, I regard 'Why Arsena believed' as an expository discourse (see Section 3.1.2), the points of which are developed by an embedded narrative.

Another example of an expository discourse which at first appears to be a narrative is 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' (Figure 4).

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
1	In the past, when our ancestors were still alive	the name of that person was Madamba.	by whom the Muslims were being defeated
2		There at Piyagtapi'an is where he is buried.	
3	Well now,	the Muslims were coming here	because of debts.
4		They were having people go get almasiga.	

Figure 4. Expository discourse 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' (con't. next page)

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
5	Sometimes	they also brought things to sell	which the Tagbanwas would get.
6	If the Tagbanwas couldn't pay	they'd really get very angry.	
7		They'd take people	if they couldn't pay, because that would be his payment.
8	But that old man, Madamba,	he was really anointed by the spirits (maybe bad ones)	because when he was young he always lived in the forest.
9	Well, whenever the Muslims arrived	he'd be the one to confront them.	
10		He'd be the one to fight with them.	
11	Well, whenever they arrived, if their boat was there on the sea,	what he would do, he'd blowgun them.	
12			That's what he would use, a blowgun, because he couldn't be seen.
13			Just like a demon, he couldn't be seen.
14	Well, therefore, all the Muslims, until every one of them was dead,	they wouldn't be able to see the reason why they were dying.	

Figure 4. Expository discourse 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' (con't. next page)

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
15	Therefore, when they were being beaten so badly, and once that old man	the Muslims wanted to take (him) with them	
16		(This was possible)	because some of his descendants had a debt.
17			They couldn't pay.
18		The datus said, 'That's what we need now. That's who will go with us, that old man. That now will serve as payment.'	the leaders of the Muslims
19	Well,	that old man said, 'That's fine by me. There's nothing wrong with that.'	
20		He said, 'If possible put my *takiding* on board first,'	like a container for betel nut chew.
21	And so,	those Muslims got it	because they were going to put it on the boat.
22			It was a very big boat.
23			The name for their boat, and the name used in the past, was *garay*.

Figure 4. Expository discourse 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' (con't. next page)

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
24	Just when they had put that takiding of the old man, Madamba, on board	what happened, the boat began to sink until it was hardly above water anymore.	
25			The sea could easily come in.
26		Those Muslims were shouting.	
27		They said, 'Get rid of that takiding.'	
28			He had not yet gotten on board as only his container had been loaded.
29		The boat was being filled up now	especially the hull.
30	Therefore	they couldn't take that old man with them	because his powers were so great.
31	Therefore	that's what I was saying a while ago.	
32		That's what the Muslims are fighting about today	because many of their ancestors were killed because they couldn't fight.
33		Now they need to pay back the Tagbanwas.	
34		That's what they're fighting about.	

Figure 4. Expository discourse 'Why the Muslims are fighting today'

This is very similar to a narrative discourse until sentence 31. In sentences 31 through 34 we learn that the preceding discourse was proving why the Muslims are fighting today, i.e. that it is an expository (argumentative) discourse. Looking at the first sentence, as we did with 'Why houses are built off the ground,' and 'Why Arsena believed,' we would expect it to say something like 'The Muslims are fighting today because of what they suffered at the hands of Madamba in the past.' We don't find that, however. Rather, the discourse goes right into the development of that idea. This is because that information was contained in verbal exchange which took place before the discourse itself was spoken. Thus, the topic of this discourse could hardly be identified without considering the communication situation.[2]

Information from the communication situation supports the hypothesis arrived at by examining sentences 31-34, that this is basically an expository discourse rather than a narrative. It is true that the discourse contains narrative material. Sentences 15-30 of Figure 4 form a clearly distinguishable embedded narrative with identifiable setting (sentences 15-17), inciting moment (sentence 18), developing tension (sentences 19-23), climax (sentences 24,25), resolution (sentences 26-28) and conclusion (sentences 29,30). But this narrative only comprises one of the supporting arguments for the topic of the discourse (see Appendix).

Sentences 1-14 contain many verbs but not many events.[3] These verbs are mainly nonpast in tense and, rather than saying what one particular person or persons did at one particular time in the story, they describe what habitually would happen, given a certain set of circumstances. They are descriptive clauses which one would expect in an explanatory discourse.

The same kind of material might be expected to occur in the setting of a narrative discourse, but if sentences 1-30 comprise a narrative it does seem out of balance to have sentences 1-14, almost half the discourse, as the setting. Also, if this were regarded as a narrative discourse, how would sentences 31-34 fit in? It is more satisfactory to regard this as an expository discourse developed by supporting arguments, (one of which is an embedded narrative) with 31-34 as the conclusion (see Appendix; the first four sections may be viewed as supporting arguments.)

2.2 Types of displays used

In the analysis of the discourses for this paper there were mainly two types of displays used. The first was a propositional analysis following Beekman and Callow (1974: chapters 17,18) and the second was a three-column display which represented prenuclear, nuclear, and postnuclear elements of the discourse. The nuclear elements are those which develop the discourse.

2.2.1 Propositional display

A propositional display is an attempt to portray the semantic structure of a discourse of which one of the basic semantic units is the proposition. A proposition, in turn, is made up of smaller semantic units, namely concepts or sememes. Such a display will reveal all the propositions of a discourse and the relationships between them. All the supporting propositions can then be grouped with the main proposition they support to form statements. Each statement, then, contains only one main proposition. Statements can be grouped into units at the next higher level, namely semantic paragraphs. A theme proposition can be posited for each paragraph, either one of the overt propositions or a proposition abstracted from the main propositions of the paragraph. The semantic paragraphs can then be combined into sections for each of which a section theme can then be posited. These sections then go together to make up the discourse. It is also possible to posit a theme for the entire discourse. As Linda Jones (1977) has pointed out, there is theme on different levels.

2.2.2 Three-column chart

Hale and Gieser (1977) in analyzing a Guinaang Kalinga text profitably used a three-column display charting prenuclear, nuclear, and postnuclear material to show that the position of clauses and preposed sentence topics in relation to the nuclear clause of the sentence correlated in some respects with the discourse function of such clauses and preposed elements. The same type of charting method was used in the analysis of Tagbanwa discourses in order to see if such a display showed anything obvious about the semantic structure of the discourses. The three-column chart attempts to display prenuclear, nuclear, and postnuclear items on a level higher than that of the clause. Just as there is theme at different levels there is also nuclearity at different levels. The chart is not concerned with lower level nuclearity. This means that in the case of clauses which are independent but which are not developing the topic of the discourse, since they are evaluative or collateral type material not on the theme line, they are not placed in the nuclear column of the chart. A lot of this material will be placed in the postnuclear column as it relates to something preceding, sometimes even to something implied such as the theme of a paragraph or discourse. The fact that these clauses are not nuclear should be borne out by the fact that they appear on the propositional display as support propositions, often in a topic-comment relationship with what they are supporting.

The three-column chart should have in its central column only the material which is central to development of the discourse, that which is on the theme line. From a comparison of both types of display for each discourse it is apparent that the material occurring in the nuclear column generally corresponds to the main propositions of the propositional display. There are some exceptions, however.

a) Whenever there is a proposition in a generic-specific relationship with a main proposition it, too, as the more specific proposition, occurs in the nuclear column even though it is a support proposition. If the proposition to which it is related is itself a support proposition of some other main proposition then neither of the two occur in the nuclear column.

b) Whenever there is direct speech it occurs in the nuclear column along with the verb of speech although on a propositional display it occurs as subordinated to that verb as its content.

It is also true that sometimes there is a main proposition in the propositional display which either does not occur in the nuclear column of the three-column chart or does not do so in its entirety. For example when the subject of a sentence (i.e. focused item) is preposed for the purpose of highlighting then the preposed item will occur in prenuclear column, but on the propositional display there is just one proposition.

The results of these two charting methods were useful for determining the semantic structure of Tagbanwa discourse.

3. Results

3.1 Discourse-structure

From the propositional display, when the propositions are grouped into statements, paragraphs, and sections (Beekman and Callow, 1974:276) one can see the discourse-structure of a text. Each statement should have only one main proposition, which is its nuclear element. The next higher units, the semantic paragraph, should have a main theme, either the main statement or a theme abstracted from the statements. Then in turn, a main theme for each section can be posited, consisting either of the main paragraph theme or a theme abstracted from the paragraph themes. From the section themes a theme for the whole discourse can be postulated. It is possible to have a section made up of just one paragraph, or a paragraph made up of just one statement.

In the discourse 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' one can find an example of both an expository and a narrative discourse, the latter being embedded and contained in sentences 15-30.

3.1.1 Narrative genre

Looking first at the embedded narrative ('How Madamba defeated the Muslims once,' Figure 4, sentences 15-30) we see that it is made up of four paragraphs all combining to form one section. In this case the section is the same as the discourse itself.

In the first paragraph sentences 15-17 provide the setting. The general situation has been elaborated on in greater detail in the preceding part of the discourse in which this narrative is embedded and so the reference here is short. The final sentence of the paragraph (sentence 18), introduces the inciting moment (complication), the resolution of which is the concern of the rest of the discourse and around which the discourse is developed. The peak paragraph is contained in sentences 24-28 and the last paragraph, sentences 29 and 30, is the conclusion.

The basic structure of this discourse, then, is the introduction of a conflict situation (which includes setting and inciting moment) and its resolution. This would be applicable not only to this discourse but to all plot related narratives. The last paragraph is usually a formal statement of the fact that the conflict has been resolved, thus releasing the tension which had been maintained (in an effective narrative) throughout the discourse.

There is a three-part typical discourse-structure for narrative genre (see Figure 5).

Discourse-structure	Significance and tension
Conflict-situation: setting and inciting moment	implicit claim of significance[4] and introduction of tension[5]
+ Story: narrative schemata	making good on the claim of significance and maintaining tension
+ Conclusion: statement of resolution	implicit assertion that the significance claim has been made good on and release of tension

Figure 5. Typical discourse-structure for narrative genre

In the first slot the necessary orientation to what follows is given and a claim for significance is implicitly made. And so we will find in this section things like the time setting for the discourse, introduction of participants, geographical settings, or description of the general state of affairs habitually prevailing, etc.

If the speech act is to be successful the speaker must in this first part make a claim of significance for his material. He then must make good on that claim in the body of the discourse. By making his claim of significance the speaker is saying that the speech act he is about to make is worthy of being made and, moreover, that it is in the interest of the hearer to hear him out. After making such a claim, if the audience then decides that his claim of significance is not a valid one, then the speaker loses his audience. The audience may not get up and walk away but from that point on they are not interested in whatever else the speaker may say unless he makes another claim of significance which they do consider valid. It is easier to make good on the significance claim with a plot related narrative than with one which is not plot related. For instance, one Tagbanwa narrative begins 'Limbuan took me along as his fishing partner last night' and what follows is a very ordinary account of what they did, which wasn't any different from what anybody else would normally do in the same circumstances. The audience may accept this as a valid claim of significance for what the speaker wants to say next or they may not. If they do, then the speaker knows as he continues that his audience is still with him. In a plot related narrative, on the other hand, a complication is introduced to upset the generally prevailing situation described in the setting. The attention of the audience has been captured and will remain captured by a skillful story teller until the tension is released.

The second slot of the discourse-structure will contain the story itself and we are positing here that a story will be made up of narrative schemata. 'Schemata' is a semantic term equivalent to the level just above that of interpropositional relations. (For discussion of terms see the introduction to this volume.) This means that there could be a number of schemata in a grammatical paragraph. There will also be a peak schema which will be contained in the peak paragraph. In 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' the peak schema is sentences 24 and 25. Narrative schemata are discussed after the following paragraph.

The third slot of the narrative discourse-structure, labelled conclusion, is filled by a formal statement of the completion or resolution. In a plot related narrative this will likely take the form of a statement that the conflict introduced in the first schema has been resolved. So in 'How Madamba defeated the Muslims once' (Figure 4, sentences 15-30) we have in propositions 29-30b 'The boat was filling up (with water), therefore they couldn't take that old man with them, because his powers were so great.' In a nonplot related narrative it might simply be something like 'so we went home.' In either case it is a signal that the speech act has formally ended and, as such, is an implicit assertion that the claim of significance has been made good on.

Constituents of narrative schemata

It was mentioned earlier that the material in the nuclear column of the three-column chart generally corresponds to the main propositions of the propositional display. So, if narrative schemata are basically the events of the discourse plus what goes along with them, then by looking at the prenuclear and postnuclear columns of the three-column chart we can find out what kind of material goes along with the events and thus determine what the constituents of the narrative schemata are.

Looking again at sentences 15-30 of Figure 4, we see that the events (and thus also the narrative schemata) are contained in sentences 18-28. Most of the material of this embedded narrative falls in the nuclear column, although almost as much occurs in the postnuclear column. There are some sentences which are purely background or collateral material and as such fall completely into the postnuclear column. The prenuclear column has the least material and consists of time settings and cohesive particles. The postnuclear column contains material which is basically background information not essential to development of the story, but supplied for the hearer's benefit for the purpose of clarification. Descriptive and reason clauses form the bulk of the material here. So, we can generalize and say that the constituents of a typical narrative schema are:

orientation/event/background propositions

3.1.2 Expository genre

The discourse 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' is an example of expository discourse. We have already looked at the embedded narrative in it. Now the whole of the discourse will be discussed.

The first two propositions give a time setting for the whole of the discourse but that is the only introductory type material before the speaker launches right into his first supporting argument. The paucity of introductory material here is due to the fact that, as mentioned earlier, the necessary orientation was contained in verbal exchange between speaker and hearer immediately prior to the formal beginning of this discourse. The claim had been made that the reason the Muslims are fighting today in the southern Philippines is that their ancestors had suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of a certain Tagbanwa by the name of Madamba. With this claim still fresh in his mind the speaker then embarks upon a discourse designed to prove this claim. So we can readily supply the 'missing' material and classify it as the topic of the discourse. Sentences 31-34 sum things up by stating the connection between the discourse topic and its development.

Comparing this discourse with two others that have already been referred to in this paper as examples of expository genre, we can suggest that a statement of the topic of the discourse typically precedes the supporting material in this genre. For instance in 'Why Arsena believed' (Figure 2) we have as the opening sentence 'Arsena has believed now because she had a dream.' What follows then is an account of the contents of the dream (an embedded narrative) designed to prove the claim that 'this dream represents why Arsena believed.' Then to sum everything up we have as the last sentence 'so that's why Arsena believed.'

Then again the most obviously expository text analyzed, 'Why houses are built off the ground' (Figure 1), the opening sentence is 'From the time of our ancestors we've always built houses like that; there is always a raised floor', which is a statement of the discourse topic. The body of the discourse develops this topic by means of theses and supporting points designed to justify the practice of building houses with raised floors. Again the last sentence sums things up by showing the relationship of the body of the discourse to the statement of the discourse topic in the first sentence, 'That's the reason why Tagbanwa houses always have a raised floor.'

The typical discourse-structure of expository genre is displayed in Figure 6.

Discourse-structure	Significance and tension
Discourse topic: statement of topic	implicit claim of significance and introduction of tension
+ Development: expository schemata	making good on the claim of significance and maintaining tension
+ Conclusion: statement of relationship between topic and development	implicit assertion that the significance claim has been made good on and release of tension

Figure 6. Typical discourse-structure for expository genre

Just as it was proposed that narrative schemata develop a narrative discourse so it is proposed here that expository schemata develop an expository discourse. One of the functions of the first slot of the discourse-structure is to make an implicit claim of significance for what is to follow. The body of the discourse, the part in which the schemata are contained, is an attempt to make good on that claim. And in the third and last slot of the discourse-structure an assertion is made which implies that the significance claim has been made good on.

Constituents of expository schemata

To determine the constituents of expository schemata we again refer to the three-column displays. In 'Why houses are built off the ground' the material in the prenuclear column consists basically of conditional clauses and cohesive material. The conditionals project circumstances in which it would not be desirable to do anything other than build a house with a raised wooden floor. The nuclear column then presents in the form of theses the undesirable results themselves and finally the postnuclear column enumerates points to support the theses. Sometimes the point or points may be so obvious as to be left implicit. This is the case with the second thesis in this discourse. In sentence 4 (Figure 1) the thesis is presented that a house at ground level with a dirt floor will get muddy if it rains and the roof leaks. The implicit point under this thesis is that that would not be desirable. This point is implicit, however, as nothing occurs in the postnuclear column. It can be left implicit because it is so obvious in the minds of the hearer and speaker. Conversely if there is a raised wooden floor, even if the roof leaks the floor will get wet but not muddy. The implicit point under this thesis is that it would not be as bad to have a wet wooden floor as it would be to have a muddy dirt one. Note, however, that whether or not a thing like this is obvious is determined by the cultural orientation of the speaker and hearer. It may be that it is obvious to the speaker but not to the hearer as he is a member of a different culture or vice versa.

In addition to the condition/thesis/points suggested above as the constituents of the expository schemata in this discourse there is a fourth constituent but not an overt one. It is the 'conclusion' of the condition, thesis, and points. It states the relationship these have to the topic of the discourse.[6] In an effective discourse of this type it will be readily apparent to the audience that the thesis and its points do develop the topic in the way in which the speaker intends (whether that be by proving, explaining, showing its reasonableness, etc.). In the discourse under consideration the implicit conclusion to be drawn by the audience from the theses presented is that building houses with raised wooden floors is indeed the only sensible way to build houses. After all, who wants snakes and centipedes to come in or his floor to be one big mudhole!

In the text 'Why Arsena believed' (Figure 2), the topic of the discourse (stated in the first sentence as 'Arsena has believed now because she had a dream') is developed by means of an embedded narrative. This is not a 'pure' narrative, though, as its purpose is to prove something, namely, that the reason Arsena believed is that she had a dream. The description of the dream should make it obvious that the most logical thing Arsena (or anybody for that matter) could have done as a result of this dream is to believe. If our theory is correct, then the expository schemata of the discourse should be contained and distinguishable in this narrative.

Sentences 2-12 contain the first expository schema. The nuclear item of this schema is sentence 11. 'That was where all those who hadn't believed walked.' Note that this is not an event, which we would expect nuclear items of larger sections of narrative to be, but rather an assertion of a fact. This lends support to the interpretation that this narrative has expository intent. This schema comprises a thesis which may be synthesized as 'Arsena saw in her dream a horrible place.' The point under this thesis is 'that's where all those who haven't believed have to go.' Then the implicit conclusion of this is 'the obvious thing to do is to believe in order to avoid going to such a place.'

The second schema is contained in sentences 13 and 14. The synthesized thesis here is 'In her dream Arsena saw a beautiful house in which all the believers were gathered.' The implied point is 'only believers go to that good place,' with the implied conclusion 'the obvious thing to do is believe so as to ensure entrance into such a place.'

The embedded narrative contains a third schema in sentence 15. The thesis and supporting point are contained in the embedded hortatory schema which is the content of what the person whom Arsena saw said. So the thesis here is 'Arsena saw in her dream a person who exhorted her to believe.' Its supporting point is 'people who don't believe end up in the fire for sure.' The implied conclusion is 'The obvious thing to do is believe so as to avoid ending up in the fire.'

The underlying prenuclear conditioning material for all three of these theses and points is the implicit 'This is what happened in the dream.' So far, having examined 'Why houses are built off the ground' and 'Why Arsena believed' we could reasonably posit the following constituents of Tagbanwa expository schema:

conditioning/thesis/points/implicit conclusion

It is interesting at this point to notice the difference in domain between narrative schemata and expository schemata. We suggested earlier that a narrative schema consists of an event and what goes along with it. We have suggested here that an expository schema consists of a thesis and what goes along with it. Note, though, that in the discourse just examined each expository thesis consisted of a number of narrative schemata because of the fact that the expository discourse was being developed by means of a narrative discourse.

The discourse 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' (see Appendix) gives additional insight concerning the expository schema. The discourse is divided up into and developed by a number of expository paragraphs which combine into the larger sections which, in turn, realize the supporting arguments of the discourse topic. The discourse topic is contained in the verbal context outside of the discourse itself, as explained earlier, and the last section summarizes everything by stating the relationship between the discourse topic and its development. To be consistent with what has been said so far the supporting arguments developing the topic of the discourse (each of Sections 1-4, Appendix, is one supporting argument) should be the expository schemata of this discourse. Looking at the nuclear column of each of these supporting arguments on the three-column chart, however, one looks in vain for theses with their supporting points. Looking back again at the propositional display (see Appendix) we find that what we have abstracted as the section themes corresponds more closely to theses, while the material in the nuclear column of the three-column display could be said to correspond to the points under each thesis. So, in this discourse, the backbone in the surface structure consists of the points of the schemata while the theses have to be abstracted from them. This is not to say that there are no theses, but rather that the theses are implicit rather than explicit. The points would have no significance if there were no theses which they were supporting. The conclusions of the theses and points are also implicit, as they were in the other expository discourses analyzed, but can be readily deduced by the hearer.

For example, the thesis of the first schema is that the person who defeated the Muslims time after time really existed. The points under this are that he had a name, Madamba, and that he is buried at Piyagtapi'an (a place near to the location at which this discourse was given and thus objectively verifiable). It is easy to see how this relates to the discourse topic. If this person never existed then the claim around which the discourse is developed would automatically be false. The thesis of the second schema is 'If it had not been for Madamba, the Muslims would have won every time.' The points are that the Tagbanwas were helpless at the hands of the Muslims and that Madamba, in contrast, was more than a match for them. Then the conclusion is obviously that this would enrage the Muslims and that's why they are fighting today. As we go on in this way through the discourse it becomes apparent that the theses correspond to the abstracted section themes of the propositional display and that the points under them correspond to the paragraph themes. Expository schemata, then, can vary in content and length. Sentences 15-30 comprise one of the schemata of this discourse and yet this is an entire embedded narrative discourse!

Expository discourse genre is the most complex to analyze, and yet the notion that an expository discourse begins with a statement of the discourse topic, is developed by expository schemata, and ends with a conclusion showing the relationship of the development to the topic itself, is a sound one. What makes expository genre more complex is the complex and varied nature of the expository schema itself. It varies in its length, its complexity, its domain, and its type.[7] Narrative schemata are composed of single events whereas an expository schema can be composed of an entire embedded narrative discourse. Also, not all of the constituents of an expository schema need be explicit. Of the four constituents, which are conditioning/thesis/points/conclusion, the conclusion is never explicit in the Tagbanwa data examined. Of the other three schema constituents, there were examples in which the conditioning material was implicit, where the theses were implicit, and where the points were implicit. However, there must be either theses or points explicit in any expository schema.

3.1.3 Procedural genre

Of the procedural discourses analyzed for this paper, an interesting one is 'How to collect anibung' (a certain kind of palm wood used for flooring and holding woven bamboo walls onto the house frame). This text is displayed in Figure 7. The interesting feature of this discourse is that it gives the means for performing almost every step.

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
1	If you're going to collect anibung	an axe is needed	because if you only have a bolo it's not possible because it will snap.
2		Chop down the anibung tree.	
3			Use an axe to chop it down because that's what can handle the job.
4	After felling it	cut it up.	
5			To cut it up use an axe also.
6	And then	split it lengthwise.	
7			To split it use an axe also.
8	And then	remove the soft pith from it.	
9			But it's hard to remove the pith of anibung.
10			Also it's not automatically good just because it's anibung unless you choose a straight tree with a straight grain, because you can't split it very well if the grain is not straight.
11	Sometimes if it's a big anibung	eight pieces each; you can split one (tree) into eight pieces.	

Figure 7. Procedural discourse 'How to collect anibung' (con't. next page)

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
12	If it's on the small side	seven each.	
13	Sometimes if it's really small	just six each.	

Figure 7. Procedural discourse 'How to collect anibung'

Another example of a procedural discourse is 'How to spear fish' displayed in Figure 8.

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
1	If you don't have a speargun	you need to make a speargun.	
2	And then, if you have a speargun now but you don't have goggles		it's not good.
3	If your speargun is ready now and if your goggles are ready now	you need to go.	
4	First	prepare some rattan strips and a basket	for threading (the fish)
5	If you have a boat	fetch a paddle.	
6	After arriving (at the beach)	drag the boat (to the water)	
	and then	sail on the sea.	

Figure 8. Procedural discourse 'How to spear fish' (con't. next page)

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
7	After arriving there on the sea, if it's possible now to shoot because it's deep and also there are many fish	you dive.	
8	After diving	swim.	
9		Look for some fish.	
10	If you find some	shoot the fish.	
11	The good thing to do is	put it in the boat.	
12	If you're alone or on the other hand if there are many of you but you're far from the boat	what you do is just thread it (on the rattan).	

Figure 8. Procedural discourse 'How to spear fish'

These two texts (Figure 7 and Figure 8) will suffice to illustrate typical procedural genre discourse-structure, which is presented in Figure 9.

Discourse-structure	Significance and tension
Discourse topic: goal to be accomplished	implicit claim of significance and introduction of tension
+Development: procedural schemata	making good on the claim of significance and maintaining tension
+Conclusion: result, or what to do when goal is accomplished	implicit assertion that the sigficance claim has been made good on, and release of tension

Figure 9. Typical discourse-structure for procedural genre

The statement of the goal to be accomplished by the procedure is not always overt. Sometimes it is included in the verbal context outside of the discourse itself. This is the case with 'How to spear fish'. The discourse was elicited by asking the speaker to describe how to spear fish. With this groundwork already laid he launched right into the procedure. At other times the statement of the goal is implied in the aperture of the discourse. For instance, in a discourse entitled 'How to exhort a person who didn't fulfill his promise,' the aperture contains the following: 'Let's suppose there is a person who lied to you. Yes, he said that he would get a certain thing but he didn't do it. He was just lying. Suppose that you meet him...' There is no overt statement of the goal of the procedure to follow but it is easily supplied, namely, to exhort him concerning his lie and his failure.

The goal is accomplished and the discourse developed by a series of steps which we will term procedural schemata. The conclusion slot is filled by either a statement of the expected result of the procedure or some instructions concerning what to do after the goal has been accomplished. In either case, it is taken for granted by the speaker that the goal will be accomplished if the steps are followed.

The implicit claim of significance in a procedural discourse is that the following steps represent the correct way to achieve the particular goal of the discourse and, if strictly adhered to, will result in its accomplishment. Thus an element of tension is introduced; a claim has implicitly been made. The steps themselves are an attempt to make good on the claim and maintain the tension. Finally, reference to the accomplishment of the goal implicitly asserts that the significance claim has been made good on and the tension is thereby released.

In the discourse entitled 'How to exhort a person who didn't fulfill his promise' the efficacy of the procedure presented is claimed at this point in the discourse by presenting an alternative procedure which one might be tempted to substitute for the one presented, but which will produce undesirable results in addition to possibly not accomplishing one's intended purpose in performing the procedure.

Constituents of procedural schemata

The typical procedural schema, as can be abstracted from the three-column displays in Figures 7 and 8, is:

condition/step/support

The support constituent of this semantic construction may be represented by a proposition having one of several semantic relations to the 'step' constituent. The propositions in the postnuclear columns of Figures 7 and 8 are examples of propositions with the relationships of means, reason, or evaluation.

Other texts show that there are at least two more possible representations of the support constituent of the procedural schema. One is 'amplification', from the text 'How to collect almasiga'.

Example:

If you have a backpack and small basket and you want to collect some almasiga	first look for someone to go with	whoever you want. There can be two of three of you. They'll be your companions.

Another possible representation of the support constituent (similar to reason) is 'result'.

Example:

...if there is no temporary house there/ you need to make one/ so that even if it rains you won't get dripped on.

As with all the schemata proposed in this paper, this schema is not the only possibility in procedural genre. It is not a rule that all three constituents will be overt in every schema. It is quite common to have no support. The condition may not be stated in every schema. Even the step itself may be left implicit, as in sentence 2 of 'How to spear fish' (Figure 8) 'And then if you have a speargun now but not goggles...that's not good'. The implied step is 'get some goggles'.

3.1.4 Behavioral genre

Good natural examples of discourses in the behavioral genre are probably the most difficult to procure and in the Tagbanwa data analyzed for this paper they are by far the least in number and the shortest in length of all the discourses collected. In spite of this, however, the examples are adequate to show the typical discourse-structure of behavioral genre and the constituents of the behavioral schema in Tagbanwa. The following two discourses are of the hortatory subtype (Figures 10 and 11).

The discourse-structure in Figure 10 is easily discernible. First we have a statement of the facts which have occasioned the advice, then follows the advice itself, and finally the purpose for following the advice just given.

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
1	Well now, you'll be going soon.		
2	After you arrive there	don't be making trouble.	
3	If someone makes trouble with you	run away.	
4	And	don't flirt	because what you should concentrate on is your livelihood, because that's what your purpose is.
5			So that you'll be able to find what you went for.

Figure 10. Hortatory discourse 'Advice to a son on the eve of his departure'

Figure 11 has a discourse-structure similar to the preceding one. Again we have a statement of the facts occasioning the advice, then the advice itself, followed by the reason why the advice should be followed.

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
1	Well, you're married now.		
2	(This is just what I want to say)	Have a good marriage.	
3		Don't be in conflict.	
4	For the woman	look after the house.	
5	For the man	look for what you're going to eat	
	and	make a rice field, provide clothing	so that the marriage will be improving.

Figure 11. Hortatory discourse 'Advice to a married couple' (cont. next page)

	Prenuclear	Nuclear	Postnuclear
6	And in a marriage	don't be in conflict.	
7	If one partner starts saying nasty things	leave them alone now	so that the evil can't work out.
8			Because that's how to make a marriage good.

Figure 11. Hortatory discourse 'Advice to a married couple'

Therefore, the typical discourse-structure for behavioral genre in Tagbanwa is as displayed in Figure 12.

Discourse-structure	Significance and tension
Reason for advice: facts occasioning advice	implicit claim of significance and introduction of tension
+ Advice: behavioral schemata	making good on the claim of significance and maintaining tension
+ Conclusion: concluding support	implicit assertion that the significance claim has been made good on and release of tension

Figure 12. Typical discourse-structure for behavioral genre

Note again the implicit claim of significance in the first slot. A situation exists or is soon to exist which, in the speaker's mind, warrants some advice to be given to those in the situation. Hence the implicit claim of significance. The actual giving of the advice is an attempt to make good on the claim while the concluding support, being an attempt to justify the advice and state why it should be followed, is an implicit assertion that the claim of significance has been made good on. All of this, in turn, introduces tension into the speaker/hearer situation, maintains that tension, and finally releases it at the end of the speech act.

As with the other discourse genre the term schema is being used here to describe the units which develop the discourse, in this case behavioral schemata. The concluding support can take such forms (among others) as reason clauses, 'because that's what makes a marriage good,' purpose clauses, 'so that you'll be able to accomplish what you intend,' or a statement of the bad consequences of not following the advice. We have an example of this last form of concluding support in another behavioral discourse. It is a hortatory discourse embedded in a procedural discourse entitled 'How to exhort a fellow believer who didn't fulfill his promise.'

In the body of the discourse the hearer has been urged to confess to God what he did wrong so that he could be forgiven. Then in the conclusion are the words 'because if you do it again your sin in God's sight will be double.' In other words, one sin would be doing the bad thing a second time and another would be failing to confess the first time (i.e. failing to heed the advice just given).

Many times there are underlying assumptions in the giving of the advice, and if these are not shared or accepted by the hearer then the advice will probably not be followed. For instance in the 'Advice to a son on the eve of his departure' discourse, the advice is supported in the conclusion by the argument 'so that you'll be able to accomplish what you intend'. It is assumed that the son does have a worthy purpose in mind in going away and that he wants to achieve it. And so this supporting material is itself a thinly disguised hortation point, namely, 'if you don't have a worthy purpose in mind in going away, either have one before you go or don't go at all.'

As for the first slot of the discourse-structure it is usually filled by a statement of the facts occasioning the advice which is about to be given. As mentioned in 2.1.1 it refers the hearer to an actual state of affairs currently in existence or soon to come into existence. In this it is different from a procedural discourse, the aperture of which sets up a hypothetical situation which may happen or may not. The information imparted in the body of a procedural discourse is relevant only if the hypothetical situation mentioned in the aperture actually does happen. In behavioral discourse, however, the situation described by the aperture is not hypothetical, but a reality and so the information in the body of this kind of discourse is (in the mind of the hearer at least) very relevant and not to be taken lightly or discarded.

Constituents of the behavioral schema

The three-column displays of the behavioral discourses suggest the following constituents for the behavioral schema:

circumstance/command/support by argument

The circumstance slot is most frequently filled by a projected time conditional clause. So, in 'Advice to a married couple' we have 'If your marriage partner starts saying nasty things...'. Then, in 'Advice to a son on the eve of his departure' we have 'If someone starts getting nasty with you...'. The condition clause filling this slot could also be nonprojected time as, for instance, 'If you did it deliberately...' (from 'How to exhort a person who didn't fulfil his promise') or 'If I didn't do anything wrong to you...' (from 'How to exhort a believer'). Other things filling this slot include person orientation for the command, 'As for the man...' (from 'Advice to a married couple), situation orientation for the command, 'In a marriage...' (from the same discourse) and time orientation for the command, 'After you arrive there...' (from 'Advice to a son on the eve of his departure.')

The nuclear item of the behavioral schema is a command, and the postnuclear slot provides support by argument for the command. This support generally takes the form of a reason clause stating why the command should be obeyed or a purpose clause stating what the purpose of obeying the command would be. This, of course, is just an implied reason for obeying the command with a different surface structure form.[8] In many instances, there will be no overt support by argument.

3.2 Backbone

Different terms have been used to describe that central thread of a discourse which develops the theme, which is crucial to its structure and to which everything else in the discourse is related. The term backbone is useful to refer to this part of a discourse. The discourse genre which has been most widely studied is narrative and it is now generally agreed that the events (see Note 3) of a narrative discourse form its backbone. It has proven very profitable to look at a discourse distinguishing events from nonevents but the usefulness of this approach is not nearly as great when looking at discourses of other genre because the backbone of discourses of genre other than narrative is not composed of events. In the analysis of Tagbanwa data a more general question was asked, namely, 'What develops this particular discourse?' The answer is different for each genre studied.

The units which develop a particular discourse have been termed schemata in this paper. Each schema has a nuclear element and it is these nuclear elements of the schemata which form the backbone of the discourse. Thus, in narrative discourse a narrative schema is composed of an event plus what goes along with that event. The event is the nuclear element of the narrative schema, so it is events which form the backbone of narrative discourse. In procedural discourse the schema is composed of a step plus what goes along with it. Steps, then, form the backbone of a procedural discourse. With behavioral discourse it is the commands which are the nuclear items in behavioral schemata and which form the backbone of the discourse. Finally, an expository schema consists of a thesis and its points and the expository discourse is developed by the theses.

3.3 Theme

Every well structured discourse will have a primary theme. In fact even a not-so-well structured discourse will have a primary theme. The difference between a well structured discourse and one which is not well structured will be in how well supported and discernible that theme is. It may remain in the mind of the speaker or writer and never really come out very well in his speech, in which case he will not achieve his purpose and his speech act will likely be unsuccessful.

As Linda Jones (1977) has pointed out, theme exists on different levels. Each discourse should have a primary theme, but there will be subthemes and sub-subthemes as we move down the grammatical hierarchy from discourse to phrase. On the lower levels of that hierarchy the marking of theme is largely intuitive on the part of the native speaker. As we move higher, though, the effective marking of theme becomes intuitive only for those native speakers who are considered by their fellow native speakers as masters of their language. There are many more native speakers of a language who can recognize a well structured discourse in that language than there are those who can produce one. That explains why there exist such professions as authors, poets, and writers. We all recognize that if we want a discourse to be really effective, we can't just say 'any old thing' in 'any old way'. It will take time to produce a well structured effective discourse. This is the presupposition underlying the technique suggested by Branks (1976) for eliciting good texts for analysis. He found that by having each discourse repeated at least six times (not necessarily all at once) the speaker automatically edited his material so that the last repetition was a much better example of a well structured discourse than was the first. This is because in the last repetition the theme is developed and supported more effectively throughout the discourse.

Since it is the backbone of a discourse which develops its theme, backbone can also be referred to as theme line. In each of the four discourse genre the backbone consists of different things and so it would be logical to assume that the primary theme of each discourse genre would also be different. In narrative discourse the plot represents the primary theme and this is developed by the events of the schemata. Procedural discourse has the goal to be accomplished as its primary theme and this is developed by the steps of the schemata. In behavioral discourse the primary theme is the advice to be given (by which it is hoped to change the behavior of the hearer) and this is developed by the commands or hortation points of the schemata. Then, in expository discourse the primary theme is the topic of the exposition and this is developed by the theses of the expository schemata.

Figure 13 is a display in chart form of all that has been said so far. The primary speech act will likely be successful if the primary theme is developed by means of appropriate backbone constituents forming the nuclear elements of the appropriate schemata, and if the whole body of schemata is preceded and followed by the elements necessary to give the whole discourse the appropriate semantic discourse-structure for the genre of which the discourse is an example.

	Primary speech act[9]	Primary theme	Backbone (theme line)	Typical schema constituents	Typical discourse-structure		
Narrative	Entertain, inform, impress	Plot	Events	orientation/event/ background	Conflict situation: setting and inciting moment	Story: narrative schemata	Conclusion: statement of resolution
Expository	Explain, prove, persuade	Topic	Theses	conditioning/ thesis/points/ implicit conclusion	Topic: statement of topic	Development of topic: expository schemata	Conclusion: statement of relationship between the topic and its development
Procedural	Inform, instruct	Goal	Steps	condition/step/ support	Topic: goal	Development of topic: procedural schemata	Conclusion: result or what to do when goal accomplished
Behavioral	Effect a change in behavior	Advice	Commands	circumstance/ command/support by argument	Reason for advice: statement of facts occasioning advice	Advice: behavioral schemata	Conclusion: concluding support

Figure 13. The semantic structure of the four discourse genre in Tagbanwa

4. Conclusion

This study has of necessity been an overview of the discourse grammar of Tagbanwa. Much more work needs to be done on the analysis of the individual genre looking at such things as cohesion, participant reference, rate of information, prominence devices, the place of dialogue, and many other topics. One thing which was not done but which may prove to be profitable is an examination of the distribution of information in the three-column displays of each discourse in order to determine the ratio of prenuclear and postnuclear material to nuclear in the four genre. One area of investigation which would be profitable in any language is an in-depth study of theme. Jones (1977) has done some good work on this subject for English. A study of theme would have particular relevance in a situation where translation of materials into the language being studied is contemplated. It then becomes imperative to discover how thematic material is marked as such in the surface structure in order to avoid marking something of little significance as thematic and something of great importance as off the theme line. Gross errors can be made in these high levels (i.e. discourse grammar) even though everything is perfectly grammatical and natural on the lower levels up to the clause. At best material translated into a language which the translator has not studied on the discourse level can be expected to be unnatural and foreign-sounding in places. At worst the material will be grossly misunderstood. And so the study of semantic structure of discourse and theme is an area in which concentrated effort can be expected to produce worthwhile results not only in Tagbanwa, but in any language.

NOTES

[1] The Tagbanwa are a group of swidden agriculturalists numbering about 8,000 by the latest estimates, inhabiting the central part of the island of Palawan, Philippines.

[2] It is important to know, when analyzing a discourse, as much as possible about the communication situation in which it was given if an accurate analysis is to be arrived at. Especially important is the intent of the speaker in performing a particular speech act. In the case of 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' the giving of the discourse was preceded by a conversation between me and the speaker about a current situation, namely the unrest on the island of Mindanao, where most of the Muslims in the Philippines live. I did not have in mind to elicit a discourse, but was merely making conversation by using a current event which most Tagbanwas would have no knowledge of, unless they had a radio, as their contact with events outside of their culture and geographic location is minimal. Upon hearing of this current unrest on the part of the Muslims, however, the person I was talking to immediately explained it by what had apparently taken place in the past between a certain Tagbanwa, Madamba, and the Muslims who used to come from Mindanao to trade with the Tagbanwas. Being

intrigued by the exploits of this heroic figure, so unlike modern day Tagbanwas, I produced a tape recorder and asked my conversation partner to tell me some more about him. This discourse was the result. In my mind what I had asked for was a story about Madamba, but the speaker's intention was to prove his thesis that the Muslims are fighting today because they were beaten so badly by Madamba whenever they had a confrontation with him.

[3] I use the term 'event' in the same way as Hale who, following Gleason and Grimes, regards as events only actual overt events which are constituents of the chronological sequence in past time around which the discourse is built. So verbs which refer to psychological processes (seeing, knowing, etc.), negated verbs, verbs with modals, flashbacks, flashforwards, subjunctives, etc. would not be regarded as events.

[4] This follows Hale's use of the term 'significance' (1976).

[5] Some investigators have applied the criterion of tension versus nontension to discourses they have analyzed. In the sense in which we are talking about tension here, though, all well formed discourses have tension.

[6] Although in Tagbanwa this constituent is not overt, in other languages, for example, Balangao (Shetler and Walrod, this volume), another Philippine language, this constituent generally is overt, being a summary of all the main points of the thesis.

[7] Jones (1977) posits eight types of expository schemata (she calls them scripts.) namely informal proof, comparison, contrast, descriptive, paraphrase, evaluation, explanation, and list, and she says that there are probably others.

[8] With a purpose clause, if the hearer agrees that the purpose is a worthwhile one which he wants to achieve, then this becomes a convincing reason for doing whatever it is that will achieve that purpose.

[9] By 'primary speech act' is meant the illocutionary act, i.e. the intention of the speaker. The intentions listed in this column are typical ones for each genre. The list is by no means exhaustive; it is not uncommon for a speaker to have mixed intentions or motives, or to be forced by the social setting to select a genre other than the usual one used to accomplish a given intention.

APPENDIX: Propositional display of 'Why the Muslims are fighting today'

SECTION 1. paragraph 1

Section theme: The person who defeated the Muslims in the past really existed.

Paragraph 1. sentences 1-2
paragraph theme: same as Section 1 theme.

1a	In the past	time of 1-30
1b	when our ancestors were still alive	time of 1-30
1c	the name of that person...was Madamba	
1d	by whom the Muslims were defeated	identification of 'person'
2	There at Piyagtapi'an is where he is buried	

SECTION 2. paragraphs 2-3

Section theme: If it had not been for Madamba, the Muslims would have won at each confrontation.

Paragraph 2. sentences 3-7
paragraph theme: The Tagbanwas were helpless at the hands of the Muslims.

3a	Well now the Muslims were coming here	
3b	because of debts	reason for a
4	They were having almasiga collected	
5a	Sometimes	time of b and c
5b	they also had things to sell	
5c	which Tagbanwas would get	comment on 'things to sell'
6a	If the Tagbanwas weren't able to pay	condition of b
6b	they would really get very angry	
7a	They would take people	specific of 6b
7b	if they couldn't pay	condition of a
7c	because that would be his payment	reason for a

Paragraph 3. sentence 8
paragraph theme: Madamba was more than a match for the Muslims.

8a	But that old man, Madamba, he was really anointed by the spirits (maybe evil ones)	
8b	because...he always lived in the forest	reason for a
8c	when he was young	time of b

SECTION 3. paragraphs 4-5
Section theme: Madamba would always defeat the Muslims.

Paragraph 4. sentences 9-13
paragraph theme: Madamba would always stand up to the Muslims.

9a	Well whenever the Muslims arrived	condition of 9a and 10a
9b	he would be the one to stand up (to them)	
10	He would be the one to fight (them)	specific of 9b
11a	whenever (they) arrived	time of c
11b	if their boat was there on the sea	condition of a
11c	what he would do, he would blowgun them	specific of 10a
12a	That's what he would use	comment on 'blowgun'
12b	a blowgun	identification of 'that'
12c	because he couldn't be seen	reason for 12a and completion of comment on 'blowgun' in 11c
13a	Just like a demon	comparison with 12c and 13b
13b	(he) couldn't be seen	amplification of 13a

Paragraph 5. sentence 14
paragraph theme: The Muslims couldn't fight back.

14a	Well, therefore, all the Muslims...they couldn't see	
14b	until they were all dead	time of a
14c	what the reason was that they were dying	content of 'see' in 14a

APPENDIX: Propositional display of 'Why the Muslims are fighting today' (continued)

SECTION 4. paragraphs 6-9

Section theme: How Madamba defeated the Muslims once.

Paragraph 6. sentences 15-18

paragraph theme: The Muslims make a plan to get rid of Madamba.

15a	when they were being beaten so badly	time of c
15b	and on one occasion	specific of a
15c	therefore...that old man, the Muslims wanted to take with them	result of 3-14
16a	(That was possible)	
16b	because some of his relatives had debts	reason for a
17	They couldn't pay (their debts)	amplification of 16b
18a	The datus said	
18b	the leaders of the Muslims	identification of 'datus'
18c	that now is what we need	content of 'said'
18d	that's the one who will come with us, that old man	identification of 'that' in 18c
18e	that will be like a payment	identification of d

Paragraph 7. sentences 19-23

paragraph theme: Madamba devises a counter plan to defeat the Muslims and thwart their purpose.

19a	That old man said	
19b	that's fine by me	content of 'said'
19c	there's nothing wrong with that	content of 'said'
20a	He said	
20b	If possible	condition of c and content of 'said'
20c	put my takiding on board first	content of 'said'
20d	like a container for betel nut chew	description of 'takiding'
21a	And so those Muslims got it	result of 20a-c
21b	because they loaded it on the boat	reason for a
22a	It was a very big boat	comment on 'boat'

23a	The name of their boat	comment on 'boat'
23b	and the name used in the past was *garay*	comment on 'boat'

Paragraph 8. sentences 24-28
paragraph theme: How Madamba's plan saved him and defeated the Muslims.

24a	Just when they loaded that *takiding* of the old man Madamba	time of b
24b	guess what-the boat started sinking	
24c	until it was hardly above water	result of b
25	The sea could come in now	result of 24b and c
26	the Muslims were shouting	result of 24 and 25
27a	They were saying	generic of 'shouting'
27b	get rid of his *takiding*	content of 'saying'
28a	he had not yet gotten on board	amplification of 27b
28b	because only his container had been loaded	reason for a

Paragraph 9. sentences 29-30
paragraph theme: Why the Muslims plan didn't succeed.

29	The boat was getting filled up now by the sea	result of 24 and 25 and grounds of 30a
30a	Therefore they couldn't take that old man with them	result of 29a
30b	because his powers were so great	reason for a

SECTION 5. paragraph 10
Section theme: So that proves my point, stated earlier, as to why the Muslims are fighting today.

Paragraph 10. sentences 31-34
paragraph theme: same as Section 5 theme.

31	Therefore, that's what I said a while ago	linking 32-34 with verbal context preceding discourse
32a	That's what the Muslims are fighting about today	conclusion of 1-30
32b	because many of their ancestors were killed (by Madamba)	reason for a
32c	because they couldn't fight back	result of 32b (and 1-30)
33	They now need to repay the Tagbanwas	
34	That's what they're fighting about.	

Key to Appendix:

1. The numbers 1-34 correspond to the sentences of the text.

2. The letters (a,b,c...) correspond to the propositions of the sentences (used only if the sentence encodes more than one proposition).

3. ( ), parentheses enclose implied information.

4. ..., ellipsis marks the actual position in the text of the next lower proposition on the display. This is used when propositions are discontinuous in the surface structure.

Notes on Appendix:

1. Each of Sections 1 through 4 is a supporting argument of this expository discourse. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. Propositions 32b and 32c give an outline of the discourse in a nutshell. 32c is a paraphrase of 14a-c a paragraph by itself. The discourse level cohesive 'well' lends support to this paragraph break.

3. The method followed in preparing the propositional display is primarily that of Beekman and Callow (1974:chapters 17-20).

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